

Leadership and diversity in the Canadian Forces: A conceptual model and research agenda

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Abstract

This chapter presents a conceptual model and a research agenda regarding leadership and diversity issues as they pertain to the Canadian Forces (CF). First, background information and definitions are provided. Then, the benefits of organizational diversity are reviewed. Following this, the current Canadian employment equity legislation is explained, including how it applies to the CF. Then, statistics pertaining to the degree of diversity in the CF are presented. After this, a conceptual model of diversity dynamics in organizations is presented and used as a framework for a review of the research on diversity issues in leadership. The issues that are discussed include tokenism, jobholder schemas, occupational segregation, prejudice and discrimination, organizational cultures and cultural adaptation, ingroup/outgroup dynamics, and stressors and the negative outcomes that result from them. Examples of the application of the research results to leadership in the CF are provided throughout. Some of the possible interventions that can be utilized to alleviate the problems that arise from these dynamics are then presented. Then, the best strategies for integrating diversity into the military are discussed. Throughout, specific suggestions for a research agenda for leadership and diversity in the CF are proposed, with a more general research agenda being presented at the end.

Résumé

Ce chapitre présente un modèle conceptuel et un programme de recherches sur les questions de leadership et de diversité au sein des Forces canadiennes (FC). On y fournit d'abord des renseignements généraux et des définitions. Puis, on discute des avantages que procure la diversité organisationnelle. Vient ensuite une explication des lois canadiennes actuelles sur l'équité en matière d'emploi et de leur application aux FC, après quoi on fournit des statistiques sur le degré de diversité dans les FC. Puis, on introduit un modèle conceptuel de la dynamique de la diversité dans les organisations et on s'en sert comme cadre pour examiner la recherche portant sur les questions de diversité au niveau de la direction. On discute, entre autres, des politiques de pure forme, des schémas des titulaires des postes, de la ségrégation professionnelle, des préjugés et de la discrimination, des cultures organisationnelles et de l'adaptation culturelle, de la dynamique des intra-groupes/exclus, ainsi que des facteurs de stress et des effets négatifs qui en résultent. Des exemples de l'application des résultats de recherche au leadership dans les FC sont fournis tout au long du document. On présente aussi certaines des interventions susceptibles de permettre de réduire les problèmes découlant de ces dynamiques. Enfin, on propose de meilleures stratégies pour intégrer la diversité dans les forces militaires. Tout au long de l'article, on présente des suggestions précises pour un programme de recherche sur le leadership et la diversité au sein des FC, ainsi qu'un programme de recherche plus général à la fin du document.

Executive summary

This chapter illustrates how increased diversity will provide the Canadian Forces (CF) with a competitive advantage by presenting a conceptual model and a research agenda regarding leadership and diversity issues. Diversity refers both to the four designated groups identified in Employment Equity (EE) legislation (i.e., women, visible minorities, Aboriginals, and persons with disabilities) and also refers to other differences like ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation, occupational classification, and context (e.g., army, navy, air force, regular/reserve).

Diversity initiatives aim to increase the representation of under-represented groups and empower them to fully participate in decision making. Increased diversity has been linked to a wide variety of positive individual, group, and organizational outcomes including reduced turnover and absenteeism and increased organizational commitment and productivity. Diversity is important in the CF because of the need for military personnel who have sensitivity and familiarity with the cultural norms and mores of the global environments in which they operate. Moreover, for viability the CF must recruit from the widest possible pool of talented people. The CF also may be subjected to lawsuits if members of minority groups are denied access to certain positions or experience discrimination or harassment. Most importantly, however, those in diverse groups should be treated equitably because it is the right thing to do.

The CF has placed priority on providing a supportive work environment, equitable career development, and representative recruiting for women, Aboriginals, and visible minorities. It is in the process of carrying out an Employment Systems Review to identify discriminatory systems, policies and practices. The Defence Diversity Council provides direction on diversity policies/programs and answers directly to the Deputy Minister and the Chief of Defence Staff. There are also advisory groups for each designated group. Of respondents to the 2003 census, 16% were women, 3.4% were Aboriginals, 4.2% were visible minorities, and 3.1% were persons with disabilities, which indicates some progress in meeting the goals of 28% women, 3% Aboriginals, and 9% visible minorities.

A conceptual model with supporting empirical research from military samples is presented. According to this framework, the under-representation of minorities produces certain token dynamics. These trigger the formation of negative stereotypes about those in token positions and bring about prejudice and discrimination against them. There is also an impact on the culture that develops such that a variety of majority/minority (ingroup/outgroup) dynamics occur. For example, members of majority groups use “disaffiliation tactics” to exclude minorities. In the case of women in combat arms in the CF these include withholding information from them, keeping them from participating in informal cliques, sabotaging their efforts, foot-dragging, feigning ignorance, and not giving them proper training or equipment. Once established, these cultures are highly resistant to change and they create a vicious cycle that keeps minorities in a disadvantaged position. As a result of the prejudice and discrimination that they experience, as well as difficulties with cultural adaptation,

minorities encounter a number of stressors (e.g., problems with maintaining a positive sense of identity, feelings of marginalization and isolation, and increased exposure to harassment). These increase the probability that they will experience negative outcomes (e.g., lower job satisfaction and morale and higher transfer and turnover).

A number of initiatives for addressing these problems are discussed (e.g., the EE initiatives in the Army and Navy). A problem with EE initiatives, however, is that minorities selected as a result of such programs are often viewed as lacking competence or as having attained their positions due to favouritism. Therefore, the CF must go beyond merely fulfilling the basic requirements of EE to make the recruitment and retention of qualified minorities an imperative. This can be done by targeting recruitment efforts and by instituting training programs (e.g., the Sergeant Tommy Prince Army Training Initiative). However, if the beliefs of minorities that they will be subject to harassment and will not have the same opportunities for advancement are accurate, difficulty in recruiting members of minority groups will persist.

To make CF cultures more hospitable to minorities, subgroup proportions must be increased to at least 15%. This makes group membership less salient, reduces feelings of isolation and enhances ability to bring about change. In the CF, this proportion is often difficult to attain, particularly in some sub-specialties (e.g., on submarines). Because the rapid influx of an under-represented group can result in a backlash from the dominant group, it may be wise to increase subgroup numbers gradually. However, minorities put into token positions must receive support and legitimization from the CF and their superiors.

To reduce negative stereotyping and discrimination the CF should: 1) adopt neutral job titles, materials, and policies/procedures, 2) establish fairer selection procedures, 3) adopt unbiased performance criteria that are consistently applied, 4) review the career progression system and how performance evaluations are carried out, and 5) enforce a zero tolerance policy regarding discrimination and harassment. Best practices include: setting clear criteria, using multiple raters that include minority representation, using behaviourally anchored rating scales, and providing time and cognitive resources to eliminate biased judgment.

CF leaders must understand that there is a need for the predominant culture to change. The CF should not require minorities to fit in by assimilating to how the majority does things. Instead, it should promote integration as an acculturation strategy. To effectively manage diversity, leaders must take a proactive role in creating a culture that respects and rewards individual differences, including: 1) being role models of appropriate values, 2) respecting the unique skills each individual brings to the job, 3) making sure that norms of equal opportunity and inclusiveness are adopted and that prejudiced attitudes and discriminatory behaviour are not tolerated, and 4) understanding their own biases and stereotypes. Diversity training and gender awareness initiatives can defuse expectations that minorities will act in a stereotyped manner and aid understanding about the special problems that they encounter.

There is a need for formal mentoring programmes for minorities in the CF, as none presently exist. Both leader support and formal policies are necessary to promote

work-life balance. The CF has lagged behind private corporations in its willingness to institute “family friendly” practices. Because different individuals have differing needs and priorities, flexible (e.g., cafeteria style) benefits and flexible career paths should be provided. The CF may wish to explore the possibility of collaboration with the Military Family Research Institute at Purdue University in the US. To reduce unwanted turnover, an analysis of why individuals leave the CF by subgroup and MOC categories should be conducted.

Best practices in diversity management include: 1) ensuring top-level sponsorship and commitment, 2) measuring and documenting change, 3) ensuring fairness, 4) obtaining wide input and participation, 5) communicating with those at all levels, 6) devising and implementing concrete action plans, 7) reinforcing behavioural change, and 8) requiring accountability.

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Sommaire

Ce chapitre illustre comment une diversité accrue procurera un avantage concurrentiel aux Forces canadiennes (FC) en présentant un modèle conceptuel et un programme de recherche sur les questions de leadership et de diversité. La diversité renvoie à la fois aux quatre groupes désignés identifiés dans les lois sur l'équité en matière d'emploi (c'est-à-dire les femmes, les minorités visibles, les Autochtones et les personnes handicapées), ainsi qu'aux autres différences telles que l'origine ethnique, la religion, l'orientation sexuelle, la classification professionnelle et le contexte (par ex., Armée de terre, la Marine, la Force aérienne, les réguliers et la Réserve).

Les initiatives en matière de diversité tendent à accroître la représentation des groupes sous-représentés et les aident à participer pleinement au processus décisionnel. Une diversité accrue a été associée à un grand nombre de retombées positives sur les gens, les groupes et les organismes, notamment un roulement du personnel et un taux d'absentéisme réduits, ainsi qu'un engagement et une productivité accrus. La diversité est importante dans les FC en raison du besoin de personnel militaire ayant une certaine familiarité avec les normes et mœurs sociales des environnements internationaux dans lesquels ils sont appelés à évoluer. Qui plus est, si elles veulent assurer leur viabilité, les FC doivent recruter des membres parmi le plus grand bassin possible de personnes qualifiées. Les FC s'exposent également à des poursuites judiciaires si les membres des groupes minoritaires n'ont pas accès à certains postes ou s'ils sont victimes de discrimination ou de harcèlement. Mais par-dessus tout, les personnes appartenant à ces groupes devraient être traitées de manière équitable parce que c'est la bonne chose à faire.

Les FC mettent un point d'honneur à fournir un environnement de travail positif et des occasions de développement professionnel équitables et à recruter activement des femmes, des Autochtones et des membres des minorités visibles. Elles sont actuellement en train d'effectuer un examen des systèmes d'emploi afin d'y repérer les systèmes, politiques et pratiques discriminatoires. Le Conseil sur la diversité de la Défense, qui relève directement du Sous-ministre et du Chef d'état-major de la Défense, fournit des directives sur les politiques et les programmes de diversité. Il existe aussi des groupes consultatifs pour chacun des groupes minoritaires désignés. Parmi les répondants du recensement de 2003, 16 p. 100 étaient des femmes, 3,4 p. 100 étaient d'origine autochtone, 4,2 p. 100 appartenaient à des minorités visibles et 3,1 p. 100 étaient des personnes handicapées, ce qui indique qu'on a fait des progrès vers l'atteinte des objectifs, à savoir, 28 p. 100 de femmes, 3 p. 100 d'Autochtones et de 9 p. 100 de personnes provenant de minorités visibles.

On présente un modèle conceptuel assorti de travaux de recherche empiriques réalisés à partir d'échantillons militaires. Selon ce modèle, la sous-représentation des minorités entraîne l'adoption de certaines politiques de pure forme qui, à leur tour, contribuent à créer des stéréotypes négatifs à l'égard de ces postes symboliques, ce qui entraîne des attitudes discriminatoires à leur endroit. Cela a aussi des répercussions sur la culture, de sorte qu'on assiste à une variété de dynamiques entre les groupes majoritaires/minoritaires (intra-groupes/exclus). Par exemple, les membres des groupes majoritaires recourent à des « tactiques de désaffiliation » pour exclure les minorités. Dans le cas des femmes dans les armes de combat, par exemple, on peut leur dissimuler de l'information, les empêcher de devenir membres de « cliques » informelles, saboter leurs efforts, tarder à donner suite à leurs requêtes, feindre l'ignorance et refuser de leur donner la formation ou l'équipement dont elles ont besoin. Une fois établies, ces cultures sont très résistantes au changement et créent un cercle vicieux qui maintient les groupes minoritaires dans une position désavantageuse. En raison des préjugés et de la discrimination dont elles sont victimes et de leurs difficultés d'adaptation culturelle, les groupes minoritaires font face à plusieurs facteurs de stress (par ex., ils ont de la difficulté à maintenir un sentiment d'identité positif; ils se sentent marginalisés et isolés et sont davantage exposés au harcèlement.) Ces facteurs auront fort probablement des effets néfastes (par ex., diminution de la satisfaction professionnelle, baisse de moral, taux élevé de transferts et de roulement du personnel).

Plusieurs initiatives pour aborder ces problèmes sont abordées (par ex., les initiatives d'équité en matière d'emploi dans l'Armée de terre et la Marine). Cependant, ces initiatives donnent souvent l'impression que les personnes sélectionnées dans le cadre de tels programmes sont moins qualifiées ou ont obtenu leurs postes par favoritisme. Les FC ne doivent donc pas simplement se contenter de respecter les exigences de base en ce qui a trait à l'équité en matière d'emploi, mais elles doivent placer le recrutement et la conservation du personnel appartenant à des groupes minoritaires au haut de leur liste de priorités. Cela peut s'accomplir par des efforts de recrutement ciblés et par la mise en place de programmes de formation (p. ex., l'initiative de formation du Sergent Tommy Prince). Toutefois, si les croyances selon lesquelles les groupes minoritaires seront victimes de harcèlement et n'auront pas les mêmes chances de promotion s'avèrent exactes, on continuera d'avoir de la difficulté à recruter des membres parmi ces groupes.

Afin de rendre les cultures des FC plus accueillantes envers les minorités, les proportions des sous-groupes doivent être augmentées à au moins 15 p. 100. Cela rendra l'appartenance à ces groupes moins saillante, réduira le sentiment d'isolement et rehaussera la capacité d'apporter des changements. Cette proportion est souvent difficile à atteindre au sein des FC, surtout dans certaines sous-spécialités (par exemple, à bord des sous-marins). Étant donné que l'arrivée rapide d'un groupe sous-représenté peut provoquer un contre-coup chez le groupe dominant, il serait peut-être sage d'augmenter les effectifs minoritaires de façon graduelle. Cependant, les

minorités qui occupent des postes symboliques doivent obtenir l'appui et la légitimation des FC et de leurs supérieurs.

Pour réduire les stéréotypes négatifs et la discrimination, les FC devraient : 1) adopter des titres de postes, des documents et des politiques/procédures neutres, 2) établir des procédures de sélection équitables, 3) adopter des critères de rendement impartiaux et les appliquer de manière uniforme, 4) examiner le système de promotion et la façon dont les évaluations du rendement sont effectuées, 5) appliquer une politique de tolérance zéro en ce qui concerne la discrimination et le harcèlement. Parmi les pratiques exemplaires, mentionnons : l'établissement de critères clairs, le recours à des évaluateurs multiples, dont des membres de groupes minoritaires, l'utilisation d'échelles d'évaluation axées sur le comportement et la fourniture de ressources temporelles et cognitives pour éliminer les préjugés.

Les dirigeants des FC doivent comprendre que la culture prédominante a besoin de changer. Les FC ne devraient pas obliger les minorités à se laisser assimiler en se pliant aux façons de faire de la majorité. Elles devraient plutôt promouvoir l'intégration en tant que stratégie d'acculturation. S'ils veulent gérer efficacement la diversité, les dirigeants doivent assumer un rôle proactif et créer une culture qui respecte et récompense les différences individuelles, notamment : 1) en incarnant eux-mêmes les valeurs appropriées, 2) en respectant les aptitudes et compétences uniques de chaque employé, 3) en veillant à adopter des normes en matière d'égalité des chances et l'inclusivité et en refusant de tolérer les attitudes et comportements discriminatoires, 4) en étant conscients de leurs propres préjugés et stéréotypes. La formation sur la diversité et les initiatives de sensibilisation à l'égalité des sexes peuvent réduire les attentes à l'effet que les minorités agiront de manière stéréotypée et aider à comprendre les problèmes particuliers auxquels elles font face.

Il y a également un besoin de créer, au sein des FC, des programmes de mentorat pour les groupes minoritaires puisqu'il n'en existe aucun présentement. Il faut à la fois le soutien des dirigeants et des politiques officielles pour promouvoir l'équilibre entre la vie personnelle et professionnelle. Les FC tirent de l'arrière comparativement aux entreprises privées pour ce qui est de leur volonté d'instituer des pratiques qui tiennent compte des besoins des familles. Étant donné que chaque personne a des priorités et des besoins différents, on devrait offrir des occasions de carrière et des avantages sociaux flexibles (p. ex., de style « cafétéria »). Les FC voudront peut-être explorer les possibilités de collaboration avec le Military Family Research Institute de l'Université Purdue aux É.-U. Pour réduire le roulement du personnel, on devrait effectuer une analyse des raisons pour lesquelles les militaires quittent les FC, par sous-groupes et par catégorie de GPM.

Les pratiques exemplaires en matière de gestion de la diversité sont, entre autres : 1) s'assurer la participation et le soutien des gestionnaires de haut niveau, 2) mesurer et documenter le changement, 3) assurer l'équité, 4) obtenir les opinions et la participation d'un large éventail d'intervenants, 5) communiquer avec les personnes concernées à tous les paliers, 6) concevoir et mettre en œuvre des plans d'action concrets, 7) renforcer le changement comportemental, 8) exiger la reddition de comptes.

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1. Introduction

The primary purpose of this report is to develop a conceptual model and propose a research agenda regarding diversity issues as they pertain to leadership in the Canadian Forces (CF). In Section 2, background information and definitions are provided and the benefits of organizational diversity are reviewed. Then, in Section 3, the current Canadian employment equity legislation is explained, including how it applies to the CF. Following this, Section 4 presents statistics pertaining to the degree of diversity in the CF. Section 5 introduces the conceptual model of diversity dynamics in organizations that will be used as a framework. Wherever possible, the results of specific studies that have investigated diversity and military leadership are cited. However, because most research in this area has not been carried out in military contexts, it was necessary to rely on information from a broader set of organizational settings. Such information is extremely relevant, however, as the underlying dynamics that are discussed are the same. Examples of how the research results can be applied to the CF are utilized to highlight this point. The issues that are discussed include tokenism, jobholder schemas, occupational segregation, prejudice and discrimination, organizational cultures and cultural adaptation, ingroup/outgroup dynamics, and stressors and the negative outcomes that result from them. Some of the possible interventions that can be utilized (by leaders with minority group status, leaders in charge of leading diverse groups, and the CF as an organization) to alleviate the problems that arise from these dynamics are presented in Section 6. Some best practice strategies for integrating diversity into the military are discussed in Section 7. Throughout, specific suggestions for a research agenda for leadership and diversity in the CF are proposed. Finally, Section 8 consists of suggestions for a general research agenda.

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2. Diversity: Definitions And Importance

2.1 What is Diversity?

The term diversity refers to differences associated with those characteristics that make individuals dissimilar from one another (Powell, 1993). This can include differences due to any number of characteristics. For example, gender, age, race, class, national origin, ethnicity, religion, disability, and marital or parental status are characteristics that have been frequently mentioned in the literature (Konrad, Pushkala & Pringle, in press). However, these are not the only characteristics that make people different from one another. The psychological literature has shown that discrimination often exists based on qualities such as sexual orientation, height, or weight (Konrad et al., in press). Furthermore, individuals can easily be induced to be prejudiced against those who differ from themselves in only minor ways (e.g., in eye colour or hair colour). [In the CF, diversity may be defined in terms of the four designated groups identified in Employment Equity legislation (i.e., women, visible minorities, aboriginal individuals, and persons with disabilities), or in terms of ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation, and so on, but also in terms of regular/reserve force differences, occupational classification differences, environmental differences (i.e., differences related to the army, navy, and air force), regimental culture differences, and many other attributes.] Diversity management is a “practice which seeks to redress employees’ negative responses to differences...” (Lorbiecki, 2001, p. 345).

The central problem for the leadership of groups of diverse individuals is that, in our society certain “individuals...by virtue of race, ethnicity, or gender, are defined differently, and ... are assigned an inferior status...that is, [they] have less than their proportional share of wealth, power, and/or social status” (St. Pierre, 1991, p. 471). Status characteristics can be either diffuse or specific. Diffuse status characteristics refer to relatively permanent demographic factors (like race or gender) whereby status is attributed to individuals as a function of their group membership. By contrast, specific status characteristics are attributed to individuals as a function of their personal abilities and skills (Kulik & Bainbridge, in press). In terms of diffuse status characteristics, for example, in our society men are attributed higher status than are women. Furthermore, White Europeans are ascribed higher status than individuals from other racial, ethnic, and cultural groups. Similarly, lower status is often attributed to those who are gay, elderly, disabled, or single mothers. The term minority is frequently used to describe members of such low status groups (St. Pierre, 1991). For simplicity’s sake, this will be the term that is used throughout this paper. Thus, women will be considered to be part of a minority group, although they are not numerically a minority. Those from minority groups often have salient visible characteristics that act as status indicators. Those with multiple status markers of difference are likely to experience greater problems when interacting with those from a majority group (Ridgeway, 1992), which in the case of the CF would be White, able-bodied men.

2.2 Diversity Initiatives in Organizations and Their Impact

Diversity initiatives in organizations are aimed at: 1) increasing the representation of historically under-represented groups, 2) ensuring their inclusion in all aspects of organizational life, and 3) empowering these groups to fully participate in organizational decision making (Kossek, Lobel, & Brown, in press). Organizational diversity has been linked to a wide variety of positive individual, group, and organizational outcomes (Kossek et al., in press). For individual employees, increased workforce diversity has generally been associated with their having more favourable attitudes towards diversity and with members of minority groups receiving better performance evaluations and wages (Kossek et al., in press). The evidence for group outcomes is more mixed. A common finding is that demographically diverse groups display more cooperative behaviour and produce more creative and higher quality solutions (Kossek et al., in press). The results of a recent meta-analysis, however, showed that group heterogeneity had no significant effects on social cohesion or overall performance (Webber & Donahue, 2001, as cited in Kossek et al., in press). Moreover, sometimes negative outcomes (such as increased conflict and turnover) are reported for diverse work groups. However, these appear to subside with time, as group members become better acquainted with one another (Kossek, et al., in press). At the organizational level, diversity has been associated with an improved ability to attract and recruit a wide pool of talent, to develop and retain a quality workforce, to better deal with globalization, and to maintain a competitive advantage (Kossek, et al., in press). US firms with greater gender diversity, for example, have been shown to have higher return on equity and return on assets (Kossek et al., in press). It is likely that many of these benefits of diversity would be similar in the CF.

2.3 Why Diversity is Important to Leadership in Today's Military

In addition to the benefits mentioned above, there are several other reasons why the CF needs to be concerned about diversity issues. First, the demographics of Canadian society have been changing so as to include a greater representation from a diversity of cultures (Okros, 2002). In recent years, more and more women also have been working outside the home. Because of these changes, the proportion of White men in the workforce has been shrinking (Chief of Defence Staff Annual Report, 1999-2000). This means that the CF, like other organizations, will have to supplement its traditional workforce by recruiting more heterogeneous individuals (Chief of Defence Staff Annual Report, 1999-2000; Okros, 2002). In order to continue to be a viable entity, the CF needs to recruit from the widest possible pool of educated, skilled, and innovative people. It will help the CF to attract and retain the best and the brightest by creating the circumstances under which a culture that welcomes a diversity of individuals can be established and maintained. Moreover, the CF will have greater credibility in the eyes of the public to the extent that it reflects the society that it serves (Reuben, 2004).

Second, today's military missions have become increasingly complex and now include elements of humanitarian relief, diplomacy, and peacekeeping (Okros, 2002; Rosen, 2000; Shamir & Ben-Ari, 2000). The higher level of performance of a heterogeneous

workforce will give the CF a competitive advantage in such situations. Third, due to an increasing emphasis on global operations, there is a need for military personnel who have sensitivity, awareness, and familiarity with the cultural norms and mores of the environments in which they operate (Chief of Defence Staff Annual Report 1999-2000; Shamir & Ben-Ari, 2000).

Fourth, research has shown that organizations that treat minorities well will also tend to treat their other employees and the people they serve well. This has a positive impact in terms of reducing turnover and absenteeism and increasing organizational commitment and productivity (Kossek, Lobel, & Brown, in press). Fifth, lawsuits may result if members of minority groups feel that they are being denied access to certain positions (e.g., until very recently women were not allowed to serve on submarines). Legal action may also result as a consequence of any other types of prejudice, discrimination, or harassment suffered by members of diverse groups serving in the military. Finally, as a society, we need to adopt the belief that minorities should be treated equitably because it is the right thing to do.

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3. Employment Equity Legislation

The following is a brief history of diversity legislation in Canada as it applies to the CF.

3.1 The Royal Commission on the Status of Women (1970)

The report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women made six recommendations that pertained to the CF (Winslow & Dunn, 2002). These were that: 1) all trades be opened to women, 2) married women be allowed to enlist, 3) the length of initial engagement be the same for men and women, 4) pregnant women be allowed to serve in the CF, 5) the Superannuation Act be amended to eliminate sex discrimination, and 6) women be admitted to the Royal Military College (RMC). Although several of these recommendations were implemented immediately, it wasn't until much later that all trades and the RMC were opened to women (Winslow & Dunn, 2002).

3.2 The Canadian Human Rights Act (1978) and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (1985)

These acts prohibit discrimination on the basis of race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, age, sex (including pregnancy and childbirth), marital and family status, physical or mental disability, and pardoned conviction (Reuben, 2004; Winslow & Dunn, 2002). However, discrimination is allowed to occur due to bona fide occupational requirements. Thus, a job can be refused to someone who cannot perform it safely, efficiently, or reliably (Winslow & Dunn, 2002).

3.3 Affirmative Action and Employment Equity

The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms does not preclude any laws, programs or activities that attempt to improve conditions for disadvantaged individuals or groups, including those who are part of minority groups (Reuben, 2004). In 1983, the Canadian government introduced an Affirmative Action Program, which focused on increasing representation of those in three targeted groups: women, Aboriginal peoples and persons with disabilities. Visible minorities were added as a designated group in 1985. At that time the program was revised and renamed Employment Equity (EE). Subsequent legislation consisted of the Employment Equity Act of 1986 and the Canadian Multiculturalism Act of 1988.

The revised Employment Equity Act of 1995/1996 combined the 1986 Act with employment equity provisions from the Financial Administration Act (FAA) of 1983 to provide a more comprehensive approach. The revised Act covers private and public sector employers in the federal jurisdiction who have 100 or more employees (Reuben, 2004). EE has as its central goal the achievement of equality in the workplace for those

in the four designated groups: women, aboriginal peoples, persons in a visible minority group, and persons with disabilities. For the purposes of the Employment Equity Act,

"aboriginal peoples" means persons who are Indians, Inuit or Métis;
"members of visible minorities" means persons, other than aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour; and
"persons with disabilities" means persons who have a long-term or recurring physical, mental, sensory, psychiatric or learning impairment and who: (a) consider themselves to be disadvantaged in employment by reason of that impairment, or (b) believe that an employer or potential employer is likely to consider them to be disadvantaged in employment by reason of that impairment, and includes persons whose functional limitations owing to their impairment have been accommodated in their current job or workplace. (Canadian Forces Employment Equity Regulations, 2002).

Employers are to correct disadvantages in employment experience by taking special measures to accommodate differences. Specifically, employers are required to: a) survey their workforce to ascertain the representation of designated groups, b) analyse their workforce to identify under-representation of designated groups, c) identify employment barriers for under-represented groups, and d) prepare an employment equity plan outlining policy and practice changes to remedy the under-representation of any designated groups.

3.4 How the Legislation Applies to the CF

In 1991, as a result of the Redway Report, which looked at racial inequality in the workplace, the CF along with other federal institutions was mandated to increase representation of designated group members to the point where the representation of each group was comparable to that in the Canadian workforce (Reuben, 2004). In 1996, this was changed by taking into account "labour market availability" and redefined as that segment of the workforce that an employer could reasonably draw upon given requisite qualifications, eligibility requirements and/or geographical location required for employment (Reuben, 2004). For the CF this means essentially those who are Canadian citizens between 17 – 52 years old, and who qualify for a security clearance and meet certain educational, physical fitness and health standards (Reuben, 2004).

In 1992, a parliamentary special committee recommended that the CF be covered by the 1986 EE Act (Vivian, 1998). In 1996 parliament proclaimed a version of the EE Act that applied specifically to all branches of the CF (Vivian, 1998). Despite the fact that the CF has followed the intent of EE for years (under the provisions of either the FAA Act or the 1986 Employment Equity Act), the CF was not legally bound to the provisions of Employment Equity legislation until 2002 (Reuben, 2004). On 21 November 2002, the CF obtained Governor-in-Council approval of special CF Employment Equity Regulations. The Act requires the CF to put into place:

...such positive policies and practices and making such reasonable accommodations as will ensure that persons in designated groups achieve a degree of representation in each occupational group in the employer's workforce that reflects their representation in the Canadian workforce, or those segments of the Canadian workforce that are identifiable by qualification, eligibility or geography and from which the employer may reasonably be expected to draw employees (Reuben, 2004).

In terms of its strategic objectives, the CF has placed priority on providing a supportive work environment, equitable career development, and representative recruiting for members of the three designated groups (i.e., women, Aboriginals and visible minorities; Reuben, 2004). The CF is in the process of carrying out a full Employment Systems Review (ESR) to identify systems, policies and practices that discriminate against designated group members.

In terms of administrative structure, a senior executive body called the Defence Diversity Council (DDC) answers directly to the Deputy Minister and the Chief of Defence Staff (CDS). It establishes the framework for the management of diversity in the CF and provides overall direction on diversity policies and programs (Reuben, 2004). There are also advisory groups for each designated group: the Defence Aboriginal Advisory Group (DAAG), the Defence Advisory Group for Persons with Disabilities (DAGPWD), the Defence Women's Advisory Organization (DWAQ), and the Defence Visible Minority Advisory Group (DVMAG). They advise DND/CF leaders on the implementation of EE programs and policies and represent visible minority membership. Anyone, whether they are a CF member, a civilian employee, a Unit Commander or a civilian manager, is welcome to serve on these groups (CF Personnel Newsletter, 2005).

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4. Diversity Statistics

The Employment Equity Act does not impose quotas on the CF, instead allowing goals or targets to be determined by the CF. Women are considered the highest priority, followed by Aboriginal peoples and then visible minorities (Reuben, 2004).

Two surveys (in 1995 and 1997, respectively) have indicated that the potential recruitable population of visible minorities ranged from 9 to 9.4%. Accordingly, the CF set a long-term (20 year) representation goal of 9% in its first Employment Equity Plan (EE Plan). The goal for women is 28% and for aboriginals, 3%.

4.1 The 1995 Census

In 1995, a census of the CF population was conducted for the purpose of determining representation of the designated groups. The results of the diversity survey and several other surveys indicated a visible minority representation of 2.1%. Data collected in a 1995 diversity survey commissioned by the CF indicated a visible minority representation for the CF as 2.1% of the Regular and Reserve force populations combined (Reuben, 2004).

4.2 The 2001 Census

Another self-identification census, in October, 2001, showed 3.7% of respondents identifying themselves as visible minorities. Although this may appear to be an increase in visible minority representation, because it was based only on the two-thirds of the respondents who self-identified, it represents an over-estimate. The adjusted figure, based on the total CF population, was actually 2.2%, which was not an increase over the 1995 percentage (Reuben, 2004).

4.3 The 2002-2003 Census

Data were also collected from a 2003 nation-wide survey. There was a 75% return rate with 84% of the participants self-identifying. Of these, 16% were women, 3.4% were aboriginals, 4.2% were visible minorities, and 3.1% were persons with disabilities (Chief of Defence Staff Annual Report, 2002-2003). This indicates some progress in meeting the goals of 28% representation of women, 3% of aboriginals, and 9% visible minorities.

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5. Conceptual Model

The issues that arise from the presence of minorities in the military stem from two closely related, and mutually supporting sources: the relatively small number of minority group members entering the CF and their retention. These two problems are mutually supporting, in that having a low representation from members of a specific group creates a variety of forces that then impacts on their retention by fostering organizational dynamics that are detrimental to those in the minority group. Efforts aimed at increasing the supply of minorities do not always take into consideration the conditions that they will experience once in the CF and which result in high levels of turnover. So, for example, although increasing numbers of women are joining the Canadian Navy, a disproportionate number of these women, relative to men, are leaving hard sea occupations (Thomas, 1997).

The integrative framework for this section will be a conceptual model of diversity dynamics in organizations that I have developed (see Figure 1). In the diagram the circles represent the processes that occur as a result of the under-representation of minorities in an organizational setting, the rectangles represent their resulting outcomes, and the octagons illustrate some of the interventions that can be applied. As can be seen, the under-representation of certain affinity¹ groups of individuals results in dynamics that eventually lead to their increased stress and higher turnover. I will first discuss the processes on the left side of the figure, that is, that the under-representation of those in minority groups produces certain token dynamics. These dynamics then trigger the formation of negative stereotypes about those in token positions and bring about prejudice and discrimination against them.

5.1 Tokenism

Members of minority groups in the CF will face a number of problems when the proportion of their group representation is below 15%. Under these circumstances, individuals are accorded token status (Kanter, 1977). Tokenism does not, in and of itself, result in negative consequences. Problems only occur when the person who is a token also is a member of a low-status group (Yoder, 2002). So, for example, research done at the US military academy at West Point has demonstrated that women cadets in token positions typically experience social isolation, enhanced visibility, additional performance pressures, and being relegated to peripheral non-leadership positions (Yoder, 1983, 1989; Yoder & Adams, 1984; Yoder, Adams & Prince, 1983). These experiences are representative of the negative consequences that befall low-status token individuals (Powell, 1993).

By contrast, because of the higher status that our society accords them, men who are tokens in female-dominated occupations (e.g., nursing, elementary school teaching, social work) are accepted rather than rejected by their colleagues and are more likely

¹ "Affinity groups" are groups of people who feel a sense of belonging with one another based on their shared cultural identity.

to be promoted than are women, even when the women's credentials are equivalent to theirs or higher (Yoder, 2002). This phenomenon has been termed the "glass escalator" (Williams, 1992) to distinguish it from the "glass ceiling" that women often experience (Powell, 1999).

5.2 Jobholder Schemas and Occupational Segregation

Stereotypes of various kinds help perpetuate the under-representation of certain sub-groups of individuals in the CF. One type of stereotype that serves this purpose is the jobholder schema. Jobholder schemas are stereotypes about what kinds of individuals are suited for what kind of work (Perry, Davis-Blake, & Kulik, 1994). These schemas are generally unconscious, deeply ingrained, and highly resistant to change (Betz & Fitzgerald, 1987; Perry et al., 1994). Research shows that children develop jobholder schemas early in life. For example, by the time that they are three years old, children know what kinds of occupations are suitable for men and which are considered to be appropriate for women (Betz & Fitzgerald, 1987). Jobholder schemas are reinforced by parents, teachers, guidance counselors, and the media and they help to determine career choices (Betz & Fitzgerald, 1987). For example, it has been found that friends and relatives with CF experience are the most influential factor in women's decision to enlist (Tanner, 1999).

In the past, the military has been composed almost entirely of White men. The stereotypical member of the military is a man who has masculine attributes (e.g., strong, tough, dominant and decisive) (Dunivan, 1994). A matching process occurs when selection and promotion decisions are being made whereby organizational decision-makers compare their impressions of the candidate to their jobholder schemas. Those who are viewed as not having the requisite characteristics for the job will be less likely to be recruited or selected for positions in the military. For example, research has shown that women applicants experience the greatest disadvantage when they are considered for jobs that are usually held by men or that are associated with masculine characteristics (Kulik & Bainbridge, in press).

According to social identity theory, people also self-categorize; they choose to accept the roles that society has traditionally prescribed for them because they find that such roles are comfortable, familiar and esteem enhancing (Korabik, 1997; Kulik & Bainbridge, in press). Therefore, those who see themselves as not having the characteristics of the typical "military man" might be less likely to choose a career in the military. All of these factors will influence the number of qualified minority applicants to the CF, their recruitment, and their assignment to different Military Occupational Classifications (MOCs).

As a result, within the military, as in society as a whole, there exists considerable segregation as to jobs and duties (Powell, 1999). For example, for many years the military was not considered to be an appropriate occupation for women and they were completely excluded from military service. Although the number of women in the CF has increased in recent years, they are still concentrated in certain specialties or "pink ghettos" that are seen to be more appropriate for them. Hence, the proportions of

women in the CF are highest in medical/dental and support units and lowest in combat arms (National Defence Minister's Advisory Board, 2000).

Research shows that a disproportionate representation of people into various groups, occupations, or occupational sub-specialties is enough, in and of itself, to produce status differentials, with the members of the minority group accorded lower status (Hoffman & Hurst, 1990). When fewer individuals from a sub-group hold certain types of jobs, the stereotyped belief that there are "legitimate" and non-discriminatory reasons for them not to be in those jobs develops and this leads to the assumption that they are not capable of doing that type of work (Hoffman & Hurst, 1990).

An example of this is the perception among men in the CF that women are not interested, motivated, or capable of being in combat arms (Truscott, 1997). These kinds of beliefs are common in military environments as evidenced by research with cadets from the US Air Force Academy (DeFluer & Gillman, 1978). Similarly, Diamond and Kimmel (2000) contend that the primary obstacle to the effective integration of women cadets into the Virginia Military institute was the negative attitudes held by men. Moreover, as studies of attitudes towards women in the US Navy illustrate, hostility towards those in sub-groups is more widespread in settings where they are atypical. In this case, it was found that men in the medical/dental and administrative departments held the most positive views toward service women, whereas men in the aviation, weapons, and engineering departments were most likely to be opposed to women serving on Navy ships (Greebler, Thomas, & Kuczynski, 1982; Thomas & Greebler, 1983, as cited in Palmer & Lee, 1990).

Negative attitudes related to occupational categories and service differences may play a role in the military in additional ways. For example, as Pigeau and McCann have pointed out, "army, navy, and air force personnel may harbour unspoken prejudices against one another," and cultural differences among the various components of a military force may "hamper operational effectiveness" (2000, p. 172). Indeed, resolving such differences is recognized as a major command problem. When leading a team that consists of Air Force, Army, and Navy personnel, leaders need to be aware of the additional stresses that arise from service differences and must promote group cohesion, teamwork and common intent despite these differences.

5.3 Negative Stereotyping

Those from minority groups are also more susceptible to being judged in terms of negative stereotypes (Ridgeway, 1992). The visible characteristics that make members of minority groups different from the majority act as cognitive schemas around which we organize information about them. We, therefore, tend to judge them, not on the basis of their individual characteristics, but rather on the basis of our stereotypes about those in their group (Haslett, Geis, & Carter, 1993). Research demonstrates that organizational decision-makers have stereotypes about sex (Deaux, 1995; Eagly, Makhijani & Klonsky, 1992), race (Devine, 1998), age (Finkelstein, Burke & Raju, 1985), and disability status (Bowman, 1987; Fichten & Amsel, 1986) (all as cited in Kulik & Bainbridge, in press).

As we have seen, people use their jobholder schemas to make decisions about the suitability of others for certain types of work. Problems can occur when people's stereotypes about roles and occupations and their stereotypes about individuals are inconsistent with one another (Korabik, 1997). For example, stereotypes about the kinds of characteristics that an "ideal" leader should have are based upon the characteristics that those who have been leaders in the past typically possess (Powell, 1993). Until recently, almost all leadership positions were held by White, able-bodied, married men. Because of this, when we think of the ideal leader, we think of someone like this (Powell, 1993). Therefore, leaders who are different (e.g., women, single mothers, persons of colour, aboriginals, or disabled individuals) often don't fit our conception of the typical or ideal leader. Consequently, they often are seen as less suited for leadership positions and when in such positions they are not taken seriously (Ridgeway, 1992). Research shows, for example, that even those women who are portrayed as having leadership ability are viewed by others as less agentic than men are (Heilman, Block & Martell, 1995). Furthermore, in Western cultures, older workers are often stereotyped as having low motivation to learn new job skills and being harder to train than younger workers (Kulik & Bainbridge, in press).

Thus, our stereotypes about members of minority groups often don't match our stereotype of the typical member of the military (St. Pierre, 1991). For example, a common stereotype that is frequently voiced by both participants and instructors in combat training centres and battle schools is that women are too weak to be in combat arms (Davis & Thomas, 1998; National Defence Minister's Advisory Board, 2000). Similarly, US male military cadets have many negative stereotypes about their female peers. For example, male cadets perceive female cadets to be less motivated, dedicated, physically fit, diligent, confident, trustworthy, leader-like, and effective than they are (Boldry, Wood, & Kashy, 2001; Larwood, Glasser & McDonald, 1980). Given this, it is hardly surprising that women cadets at West Point have reported feeling that they were being "stereotyped into limited feminine roles that conflicted with expectations for cadets and being criticized for lacking 'command voices'" (Yoder, 2002, p. 2).

Another problem that those with minority status often have to deal with is a backlash from those in the predominant group who believe that minorities don't deserve to be in leadership positions and that they were appointed to them due to quotas or preferential treatment rather than because of their competence. In the CF, many men believe that quotas exist and that women are given preferential treatment (e.g., that women get "cushy" jobs, are treated more leniently by instructors, and don't have to meet the same performance standards as men) (Davis & Thomas, 1998; Truscott, 1997). This situation creates resentment toward women (Truscott, 1997).

Furthermore, because members of groups with low status are not as highly valued as majority group members are, their contributions are often overlooked (Haslett, Geis, & Carter, 1993). When a leader has minority group status, therefore, the primary challenge is that of legitimization of authority. This is particularly true when the subordinates are from the majority group (Korabik, 1997). In such a case, minorities are forced to try and "prove" themselves and they are more likely to have their authority questioned by their subordinates (Ridgeway, 1992).

5.4 Prejudice and Discrimination

Negative stereotypes about members of minority groups frequently result in prejudiced attitudes and discriminatory actions towards individuals in those groups (Korabik 1997). When others have low performance expectations for members of a particular group, they give them less time to speak, interrupt them more, and give them fewer opportunities to take on challenging tasks (Kulik & Bainbridge, in press). Because of this unequal treatment, members of low-status groups will often perform worse than those of high-status groups, further reinforcing others' negative stereotypes about them (Kulik & Bainbridge, in press).

Stereotypes about supposed differences have often been used to justify discrimination against minorities. For example, as part of a legal case in the US, it was contended that women should not be admitted to the Virginia Military Institute because they are "physically weaker...more emotional and can't take stress as well as men" as well as the fear that they would "break down crying" and be traumatized (Kimmel, 1999, p. 501). In a similar case with regard to the Citadel (another US military training institution) it was argued, despite a total lack of any evidence, that men needed "an environment of adversativeness or ritual combat in which the teacher is a disciplinarian and worthy competitor" whereas women required a cooperative, emotionally supportive atmosphere (Kimmel, 1999, p. 501).

Such stereotypes are not grounded in reality. Research shows that women and men have similar motivations for undertaking military training (Kimmel, 1999). Several studies in the US military have shown that women can perform most military tasks as well as men and they do not adversely affect the performance of a military unit (Adams, 1980; Kimmel, 1999). Moreover, despite the fact that according to Holden and Tanner (2001) it is commonly believed that women's presence in the CF will impede cohesion, morale, and discipline, there are no data to support this. In fact, mixed-gender units have been found to be superior to all-male units when it comes to team and group work (Vivian, 1998).

Despite this, due to perceptual biases, minority group members are evaluated differently from those from the majority group, even when their objective level of performance is the same (Korabik, 1997). This is more likely to happen when the criteria used for evaluation are subjective, ambiguous, or unclear (Haslett, Geis, & Carter, 1993). Under such circumstances stereotyped judgements are more likely to occur, such that the members of the minority group are judged according to different criteria and evaluated along dimensions that are narrowly related to their group's stereotype (Korabik, 1997). So, for example, bias against women and older individuals has been found to be more likely when raters have limited job-related information.

These circumstances may exist in the CF. Truscott (1997) reports that there is a perception of inconsistency in relation to the physical standards that are applied in the CF, as well as confusion as to how the standards are being applied. Moreover, research has shown that token women in CF combat arms training programs perceive

that they are held to an additional subjective standard of physical performance even after they have met the quantifiable standard (Davis & Thomas, 1998).

The presence of an objective criterion, therefore, is no protection against bias (Korabik, 1997). This is because the fact that minority group members have visible characteristics that act as status indicators means that they are subjected to double standards of evaluation (Foschi, 2000). These double standards are pervasive and, because of them, those with lower status are judged as performing less well than those with high status even though their actual level of performance is as good as or better than those in the high-status group (Foschi, 2000). Conversely, those in high-status groups are given more latitude when it comes to failure than are those from low-status groups (Foschi, 2000). For example, in regard to female faculty at The Citadel, research showed that “students clearly demand a higher standard from female instructors...to earn parity with their male colleagues” (Bennett, 1982, as cited in Suskind & Kearns, 1997, p. 505).

Double standards have been shown to affect judgments about suitability for jobs (Foschi, 2000). This is apparent in the comments of US General Merrill McPeak who claimed that if he had to choose between a male fighter pilot whose performance was inferior and a superior female pilot, he would choose the man (Dunivin, 1994). Furthermore, as a result of double standards, women are evaluated less positively than men, particularly when they are in masculine stereotyped occupations (Davidson & Burke, 2000, as cited in Kulik & Bainbridge, in press). Thus, women in military training programs tend to receive less favourable evaluations than their male peers do (Boldry, Wood, & Kashy, 2001), women faculty at US military colleges are evaluated more negatively than their male peers (Suskind & Kearns, 1997) and women military leaders are perceived to be less effective than their male counterparts (Eagly, Karau & Makhijani, 1995). As Davis and Thomas observe about women in the CF, “the lens through which women are observed and evaluated is tinted in a way that discredits and devalues women in relation to male norms and standards” (1998, p. 6).

The processes that underlie double standards of evaluation can influence decisions about salary increases, training, promotions, punishments and job assignments to the detriment of minorities (Haslett, Geis, & Carter, 1993; St. Pierre, 1991). On any one occasion, the effects of bias are usually very small. But, during the course of individuals’ careers, they are constantly confronted with situations in which stereotypes (both those which they themselves ascribe to and those which others hold about them) impact on the decisions that they make and that are made about them (Korabik, 1997). The cumulative effect of a small amount of bias repeated over and over again can result in significant discrimination over time (Martell, Lane & Emrich, 1996), perpetuating a status quo in which those in the dominant group have more access to positions of power and privilege than those in minority groups do. Furthermore, because stereotypes are both unconscious and pervasive, the discrimination that results from them is often very subtle and difficult both to substantiate and to alleviate (Haslett, Geis, & Carter, 1993).

As a result of these processes, minorities have a harder time getting the types of job experiences that they need in order to advance. A study of successful Black

executives found that they were often relegated to “racialized roles” in organizations (e.g., marketing to Blacks or EE officer); those in such roles had lower advancement and mobility and less skill development than those with mixed or mainstream career patterns (Collins, 1997, as cited in Kossek, Lobel, & Brown, in press). Similar job segregation can limit the advancement of women, aboriginals, and minorities in the CF beyond a certain level because they are unable to gain the prerequisite operational background and professional qualifications to be considered for staff college (Holden & Tanner, 2001; St. Pierre, 1991; Vivian, 1998). For example, the number of women enrolled at the CF Command Staff College rose considerably after the removal of eligibility criteria requiring field duty from which they had been restricted (Holden & Tanner, 2001).

Powell (1993, p. viii) contends that “the biggest barrier to advancement for white women and women and men of color continues to be prejudice.” Because of factors related to prejudice and discrimination, members of minority groups tend to remain concentrated at the lower levels. For example, although there are more senior ranking women in the army now than in the past, their rate of progression is not the same as men’s (Holden & Tanner, 2001; Tanner, 1999).

Fear of encountering prejudice can also dissuade potential recruits from joining the military. For example, a survey of visible minorities of Pakistani Muslim descent in the United Kingdom identified concerns about racism as a major cause of their lack of interest in enlisting (Reuben, 2004). Similarly, a 1991 study by the CF found that community leaders and youth from the Chinese, South Asian and Black communities in Canada expected that they would encounter discrimination and racism in the military (Reuben, 2004).

As illustrated in Figure 1, however, there are also other important organizational dynamics that need to be addressed. These are shown on the right side of the Figure and will be discussed next.

5.5 Organizational Culture

The under-representation of certain sub-groups in an organizational setting influences the culture that develops. This produces a variety of majority/minority or ingroup/outgroup dynamics that lead to a number of problems for those in the minority groups.

Organizational cultures consist of beliefs and attitudes, values about what is important, norms about how things should be done, and customs and lifestyles (Mills & Tancred, 1992). Over time a distinctive military culture has developed with idiosyncratic elements like rank insignia, saluting, and its own jargon. It has been labeled a combat-masculine-warrior culture (Dunivin, 1994) and it is characterized by a command and control ideology, hierarchical authority, bureaucracy, a fixed division of labour, standardized operations, and reliance on precise regulations (Shamir & Ben-Ari, 2000). Individuals in this culture must be willing to relocate often, to travel frequently, to be away from home for long periods of time, to work irregular hours,

and to subject themselves to personal danger. Sub-cultures also exist in different branches of the CF (e.g., the Army) as well as in different areas (e.g., “fighter pilot culture” and “submarine culture”) (Bradley, 1999).

In situations where a majority group has predominated for a long time, the culture that develops is defined by that group to embody their values and suit their needs (Korabik, 1997). Research shows that cultures that are more hostile to minorities exist in areas where members of the majority group are more numerous (Korabik, 1997). This not only creates a “chilly climate” for minorities that increases their discomfort and makes them feel unwelcome, but it also fosters stereotyped decision-making and systemic discrimination and bias (Haslett, Geis, & Carter, 1993). All of these factors serve to hamper the career advancement and increase the turnover rates of those in minority groups.

These processes have been shown to exist in the military environment. An example is the hostility towards women in combat arms in the CF documented by Davis and Thomas (1998). They characterize combat arms as a setting that “has been defined by men and maintained to train and employ men” (p. 10). Here the “cultural (male) assumptions in relation to the accepted, expected, and/or ‘appropriate’ social and sexual behaviours of women create a systematic barrier to the objective evaluation of the performance of women in combat arms” (p. 24). Davis and Thomas also report that women in combat arms perceive a climate of non-acceptance that is different from the welcoming and inclusive atmosphere they experienced as Reservists.

5.6 Acculturation

In all organizations employees go through an acculturation process whereby they become familiar with their organization’s culture (Korabik, 1993, 1997). The newcomers’ adherence to organizational values is assured either through formal training or a probationary period of close observation and supervision (Symmons, 1986). In this way organizations confirm their values and socialize their members to behave accordingly. In the military this is accomplished through education (e.g., military college) (Guimond, 1995) and training (e.g., ROTP and boot camp) (Dunivin, 1994).

Berry (1983) outlines four ways that minorities can acculturate to a majority culture. Although his model was originally developed to explain the situation of immigrant groups adjusting to Canadian culture, contemporary research has demonstrated that the theory can be applied to a wide variety of circumstances (Chun, Organista, & Marin, 2003). The first acculturation process outlined by Berry (1983) is separation. This is where those from minority groups value their own rather than the dominant culture. In organizations, adoption of a separation ideology results in the perpetuation of job segregation and serves to maintain the status quo (Korabik, 1993). A second acculturation process is assimilation (Berry, 1983). Here, a “melting pot” ideology (Berry, 2003) exists where those in the minority group are expected to give up their own culture in favor of the predominant culture. In the third process, deculturation or marginalization, minority individuals feel that they do not fit into either their

traditional culture or the predominant culture (Berry, 1983). This strategy has been found to be associated with the worst outcomes (Berry, 2003). In the fourth strategy, integration, both the minority and the majority groups change so as to adapt to one another (Berry, 1983). This strategy means embracing an ideology of multiculturalism and has been associated with the most favorable outcomes (Berry, 2003).

There is evidence that, despite much talk about integration, minorities in the CF are actually expected to fit in by assimilation. For example, research has shown that there is lower support for multiculturalism in the CF (particularly among men) than in Canadian society as a whole (Truscott, 1997). There also appears to be a strong emphasis on uniformity, a lack of tolerance of differences, and an unwillingness to change or adapt to meet the needs of minorities. The following two quotes illustrate this:

“Group cohesion, imperative to operational effectiveness, comes from uniformity not conformity. We should all look the same and that includes hair and headdress. That’s why we wear uniforms.” (National Defence Minister’s Advisory Board, 2000).

“We are not doing aboriginals and visible minorities a favor by allowing them to look different [wearing braids and turbans]. How can they possibly integrate when they stick out like a sore thumb?” (National Defence Minister’s Advisory Board, 2000).

Further evidence comes from research done with women in combat arms. Davis and Thomas (1998) report that such women must assimilate rather than integrate and that little is done to accommodate their needs. For example, access to facilities such as showers can still be a problem (Truscott, 1997). These women also frequently report that they must use ill-fitting kit and equipment (e.g., frag vests, rucksacks, boots, and helmets) (Truscott, 1997) and they have an increased risk of injury as a result of this (Davis & Thomas, 1998).

Lately, there has been recognition that the design and fit of boots, packs, and uniforms can keep women from reaching their full potential (Holden & Tanner, 2001). However, changes under the “Clothe the Soldier” program were made without consulting women and without sufficient explanation to men as to why special accommodations needed to be made for women (Holden & Tanner, 2001). This has resulted in resentment toward women because of the money men see being spent on meeting their specific needs (Truscott, 1997).

Those from minority groups frequently try to conform to organizational expectations and fit into the prevailing organizational culture through assimilation. Thus, they adopt the predominant mode of behavior. An example would be a woman leader who tries to act like a man by assuming a tough, task-oriented, assertive style of leadership. Kimmel (1999) found that women cadets at West Point often utilized this strategy. They downplayed both their gender identity and their solidarity with other women. Similarly, Davis and Thomas (1998) found that women in combat arms in the CF often competed among themselves rather than supporting one another, as a way of trying to

identify with the more powerful male dominated majority group.² Unfortunately, members of stigmatized groups often are unwilling to risk supporting qualified members of their own group due to their fear that they will lose the acceptance of the majority group (Kulik & Bainbridge, in press).

Many individuals from minority groups try hard to assimilate to the majority group. The strategy of assimilation, however, generally is not a successful one for them (Korabik, 1993, 1997). Visible minorities look different from the members of the majority group. Their status characteristics act as cues that elicit certain stereotyped expectations from others, making their attempts to assimilate futile (Ridgeway, 1992). They may be tolerated by the majority group on the surface, but they will never truly be accepted. Furthermore, when those with minority group status ignore the stereotyped expectations of others and express their authority in a direct and overt manner, they often find themselves confronting reactance and resistance that undercuts their attempts to be influential (Haslett, Geis, & Cater, 1993; Ridgeway, 1992). This lack of acceptance results in these minority group members being marginalized, socially isolated, and relegated to an outgroup (Korabik, 1997).

5.7 Ingroup/Outgroup Dynamics

In addition to problems with cultural adaptation, a variety of ingroup/outgroup processes act as barriers to the successful integration of minorities. Ingroup bias is particularly likely to occur when one group is more socially valued than another and status characteristics are impermeable (i.e., cannot be easily changed as in the case of sex and race). In such cases “homophilious reproduction” or people’s tendency to prefer interacting with and to favor those who are like themselves is more likely (Tsui & O’Reilly, 1989). For example, research has demonstrated that male cadets at The Citadel demonstrated a preference for male professors (Suskind & Hearn, 1997). Members of majority groups have also been found to use a number of “disaffiliation tactics” to exclude minorities. In the case of women in combat arms in the CF these included such things as withholding information, keeping them from participating in informal cliques, sabotaging their efforts, foot-dragging, feigning ignorance, and not giving them proper training (Davis & Thomas, 1998).

5.8 Summary

Once established, organizational cultures are highly resistant to change and they create a vicious cycle that keeps minorities in a disadvantaged position relative to those in the majority group. The dynamics associated with cultures in which a majority group predominates serve to exclude minorities from the ingroup and have many negative consequences for those who are members of minority groups. Although minority

² On the other hand, recent research by Febraro (2003, 2004) with women in the CF combat arms found evidence of both gender assimilation and integration. In terms of gender assimilation, many of the women non-commissioned members in the sample warned against a woman leader behaving in too feminine a manner. In terms of gender integration, most of the women leaders in the sample valued both masculine and feminine styles of leadership.

group members clearly suffer the preponderance of the negative consequences that are attributable to this situation, there is much evidence suggesting that such cultures are also extremely detrimental to the well-being of those in the majority group and the organization as a whole (Powell, 1999).

5.9 Stressors and Resulting Negative Outcomes

As a result of the prejudice and discrimination that they experience as well as difficulties with cultural adaptation, members of minority groups encounter a number of stressors. These include problems with maintaining a positive sense of identity, feelings of marginalization and isolation, and increased exposure to harassment. These increase the probability that minorities will experience negative outcomes. It is not surprising, therefore, that those in minority groups have lower job satisfaction and higher turnover than members of the majority group (Powell, 1993).

5.9.1 Decreased Self-esteem and Self-efficacy

Research indicates that minorities frequently internalize the negative opinions that others hold about them, hampering their performance (Haslett, Geis, & Carter, 1993). As well, studies show that the performance of minorities is lower (probably due to anxiety that is related to enhanced performance pressures) when they are tokens in majority-dominated groups (Powell, 1999). For example, women soldiers often tend to devalue their own contributions and approach tasks with less confidence than male soldiers do (Biernat et al., 1998 as cited in Boldry, Wood, & Kashy, 2001). Similarly, Davis and Thomas (1998) report that women in combat arms in the CF describe being worn down psychologically and having their confidence destroyed as a result of their training, even when they managed to attain the required physical standards. As a result, as the training progressed, they perceived themselves to be less and less suitable and less and less able. Research indicates that as a result of such experiences women can fail to perceive the discrimination that they encounter and instead blame themselves for the negative treatment and outcomes that they receive (Korabik, 1997).

5.9.2 Increased Conspicuousness and Social Isolation

The behaviour of those in minority or token positions is more salient or noticeable than the behaviour of those in the majority group (Korabik, 1997). And, because under such circumstances those in token positions are more aware of how they affect others, the behaviour of the tokens toward those in the majority group is affected as well (Korabik, 1997). They feel invisible as individuals, but hypervisible as members of their group. This can result in performance pressures which minorities in token positions can respond to by overachieving (Korabik, 1997). Furthermore, because of their exclusion from the dominant group and their alienation from others in their own group, minorities often report experiencing social isolation. These dynamics have

been reported by women cadets at West Point (Kimmel, 1999; Yoder, 2002) as well as women in combat arms in the CF (Davis & Thomas, 1998).

5.9.3 Lack of Mentors and Role Models

There appears to be a need for mentoring programs for minorities in the military. As women cadets at West Point stated: “We really needed contact with women officers. We needed their experience, their advice, and their example... We needed to be able to talk to them without suspicion or fear. We needed their empathy and their concern” (Kimmel, 1999, pp. 506-507). Because of “homophilious reproduction,” however, the social networks of minorities are likely to be composed of individuals like themselves and they will be excluded from the “old boys network” (Korabik, 1997). Therefore, it will be more difficult for them to find mentors. The absence of others like themselves in the organization, particularly at the higher levels, also means that role models will be scarce. The lack of access to mentors and role models can hamper the career progression of minorities (Korabik, 1997).

5.9.4 Harassment

Sexual harassment is persistent, unsolicited, and nonreciprocal behavior of a sexual nature. Miller (1997, as cited in Davis & Thomas, 1998) reports that both gender harassment (e.g., hostile work environment) and counterpower harassment (e.g., by subordinates) against women are problems in the US Army. Similarly, women faculty at The Citadel often said they had been harassed by male cadets. This typically took the form of gender harassment (i.e., generalized degrading and sexist remarks) and counterpower harassment (i.e., anonymous negative comments from students on course evaluations). It was more likely to happen to younger women and women’s complaints about it were not taken seriously (Suskind & Kearns, 1997).

Sexual harassment also has been an ongoing and significant issue in the CF (Holden & Davis, 2001; Holden & Tanner, 2001; Tanner, 1999). As in the case of non-military samples (Korabik, 1997), a greater proportion of women than men are victims (Holden & Davis, 2001), and it is more likely to be a problem in areas where gender ratios are very skewed, where peer pressure exists to support it, or where there is a lack of accountability on the part of leadership in units (Truscott, 1997). This was documented by Davis and Thomas (1998) in their study of women in combat arms in the CF. These women reported experiencing direct and frequent harassment, humiliation, and intimidation on a daily basis. This usually involved name calling and sexual innuendos, but also included physical assault and rape (Davis & Thomas, 1998). Moreover, although these women identified peers, instructors, and supervisors who supported them on an individual basis, little direct action was taken by those in authority to intervene to stop discrimination and harassment against them (Davis & Thomas, 1998).

Recent research with personnel from the US Armed Forces indicates that, for both women and men, the frequency with which one experiences harassing behaviours is related to negative outcomes (e.g., job and health dissatisfaction, and lack of psychological well-being, work group cohesiveness, and organizational commitment). These negative outcomes occur even if the victim does not label the behaviours as harassment (Munson, Miner, & Hulin, 2001).

The harassment that occurs in the CF is not always sexual in nature. There are a number of initiation rites and rituals that can include components of harassment (e.g., hazing, bullying, abuse of authority). Another issue is that men soldiers worry that they will be accused of harassment if they attempt to motivate or discipline women (Davis, 1997 as cited in Davis & Thomas, 1998). Furthermore, many enlisted men believe that women frequently claim harassment instead of taking personal responsibility when they are unable to do a job (Davis, 1998).

Fortunately, there has been a decrease in reports of harassment in the CF over time (seen in four large-scale surveys carried out between 1992 and 1999). This has been attributed to the presence of harassment prevention programs, the creation of anti-harassment policies, and the commitment on the part of top leadership to eliminate the problem (Holden & Davis, 2001). However, although programs such as SHARP (Standard for Harassment and Racism Prevention) exist and have been widely implemented, their effectiveness in changing attitudes has not been established. In support of this, Truscott (1997) reports that racial and ethnic jokes are still frequently heard in the CF.

5.9.5 Work-family Conflict

Although work-family conflict is generally perceived as a women's issue, it is actually important for both men and women (Powell, 1999). For example, having to spend too much time away from home is the third ranked reason for voluntary turnover among women in the CF Navy, but the top ranked reason given by men (Thomas, 1997).

Research from the US indicates that military women often face difficulties because of their role as mothers. For example, pregnancy was found to be "a source of bias that negatively affected performance appraisals" (Halpert, Wilson, & Hickman, 1993, as cited in Evans & Rosen, 1997, p. 354). Moreover, peers often resent the fact that pregnant service women are excused from certain duties (e.g., deployments) or released from duty to go to medical appointments, even though there are no sex differences in the amount of actual absence from work (Evans & Rosen, 1997).

Findings from the CF similarly indicate that some women who are pregnant or on maternity leave report enduring resentment from their co-workers who feel that they must pick up the slack (National Defence Minister's Advisory

Board, 2000; Truscott, 1997). There may also be resentment because mothers are allowed to take time off for child-care emergencies (Truscott, 1997).

Due to the fact that the number of dual career and single-parent families in the CF is steadily rising (Holden & Tanner, 2001), some “family friendly” policies have been instituted. For example, Military Family Resource Centres (MFRC) have been established and have “Child Care Coordinators who have the responsibility of coordinating child-care services; coordinating emergency child-care requirements; screening caregivers and other facilities; liaising with the community; and providing enhanced child-care options and information to families” (Holden & Tanner, 2001). There is also a Family Care Assistance (FCA) programme that provides financial assistance to single-parent families and to service couples who are required by the CF to be absent from home at the same time (Holden & Tanner, 2001). Furthermore, there is a maternity leave top-up to 93% of salary and parental leave is available to either spouse (Vivian, 1998). Leave without pay for family caregiving is also available (Vivian, 1998).

The problem is that when “family friendly” policies exist, they often are not consistently implemented and individuals are frequently dependent upon the willingness of their superiors to grant them (Holden & Tanner, 2001). There is also the fear among enlisted personnel that those who use them will have their career progression hampered (Holden & Tanner, 2001). There have been reports that women who have families are taken out of mainstream career paths (i.e., put on a “mommy track”), which hampers their career advancement (National Defence Minister’s Advisory Board, 2000).

5.9.6 Morale, Transfer, and Turnover

Women in the CF have been found to have lower levels of morale than men (Tanner, 1999). They also are more likely to transfer MOCs than men are (Tanner, 1999). Moreover, there is a high rate of female attrition in the CF (Tanner, 1999). Rates of voluntary turnover between 1987 and 1992 were 24.7% for women compared 16.8% for men (Thomas, 1997).

Women attribute their turnover to having to work in a male-dominated environment (Tanner, 1999) as well as to a lack of career progress, dissatisfaction with job tasks and pay, discrimination, and conflict with their spouse’s career or their family responsibilities (Holden & Tanner, 2001; Thomas, 1997). Turnover rates are particularly high in areas (e.g., combat arms) that are more male-dominated (Holden & Tanner, 2001). Women in combat arms units have reported experiencing “systematic rejection and bias against women that was manifested in overt and covert attempts to get them out” (Davis & Thomas, 1998, p. 19). Moreover, they felt that when they were considered to be unsuitable for combat arms, they were less likely than their male peers to be transferred to another occupation and more likely to be immediately released or continually recoured until they left on their own accord. During exit interviews they stated that more of an effort could have

been made to allow them to continue their military careers (Davis & Thomas, 1998). Similarly, women who had left the CF Navy were also more likely than men to report that “reasonable action” could have been taken to prevent their departure (Thomas, 1997).

Aboriginals who take part in the Northern Native Entry Program (NNEP) also have a high attrition rate. Although 75.5% complete recruit school, large numbers drop out before the completion of initial occupational training (Truscott, 1997). They often report difficulties with isolation, cultural stress, and discrimination as a consequence of having to adjust not only to military life, but also to life in southern Canada (Truscott, 1997).

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6. Possible Initiatives

6.1 Tokenism

As Figure 1 indicates, one way to increase the numbers of minorities in under-represented occupations is through EE programs. The CF has a number of such programs. For example, Leadership in a Diverse Army (LDA) is a set of initiatives designed to increase the proportion of members of the three designated groups in the Army (National Defence Minister's Advisory Board, 2000). In the Navy, EE initiatives have included a 1997 Maritime Command guidance and direction, annual recruiting goals, awareness activities, and diversity education (National Defence Minister's Advisory Board, 2000).

Although EE programs make the goal of attaining a balanced workforce salient, they are unlikely to be effective at addressing the underlying problems that sub-groups face unless they are comprehensive and viewed as more than just a legislated mandate. Even well designed EE initiatives do not work without monitoring and enforcement. If there is no true "buy-in," supervisors will find ways to circumvent their requirements. However, research indicates that when there is top leadership commitment to the principles of EE, there will be greater employee receptivity and co-operation regarding the implementation of EE policies and practices (Kossek, Lobel, & Brown, in press).

A major problem with relying on EE initiatives to increase the numbers of minorities in organizations is that those minorities who are selected as a result of such programs are likely to be viewed by their superiors and peers as lacking in competence and as having attained their positions due to favouritism (Heilman, Block, & Lucas, 1992). As a result, minorities themselves often are not in favour of such programmes (see, e.g., Davis & Thomas' 1998 study of women in combat arms in the CF). Because of this, organizations must go beyond merely fulfilling the basic requirements of EE to make the recruitment and retention of qualified minorities an imperative.

This can be done by targeting recruitment efforts and by instituting training programs to develop the skills of those who lack them (e.g., the Sergeant Tommy Prince Army Training Initiative). However, to the extent that the beliefs of minorities that they will be subject to harassment in the CF and not have the same opportunities for advancement as those in the majority group (Truscott, 1997) are accurate, the difficulty in recruiting members of minority groups might persist. There is also a need to provide minorities who are considering joining the CF with realistic job previews. Most of the women interviewed by Davis and Thomas (1998) reported that they had not been adequately prepared during recruitment regarding the gender-based issues that they would confront in combat arms units.

To bring about changes in organizational cultures that will make them more hospitable to minorities, it is necessary to increase the numbers in a subgroup to a proportion of at

least 15% (Kanter, 1977). This constitutes a large enough minority so that their group membership becomes less salient and their individual behaviour becomes less noticeable. Furthermore, under such conditions, there will be enough members of a group so that they feel less isolated and are able to work together, which facilitates their ability to shift the balance of power and to bring about cultural change.

In the CF, this proportion is often difficult to attain, particularly in certain sub-specialties. For example, on submarines when someone is landed their replacement must be of the same rank and same occupation. Therefore, it is impossible to assign more than a few women at a time to a particular submarine due to small pool of those to choose from (Bradley, 1999).

Initially, the army attempted to achieve gender integration by placing groups of women who would form a “critical mass” together in one unit (Vivian, 1998). For logistical reasons, this policy was dropped in favour of putting small numbers of women into different units (Vivian, 1998). Some researchers have suggested that this newer strategy may actually be more effective. A rapid influx of an under-represented group into an occupation or organization can result in a backlash effect, as the dominant group sees the increased representation of the outgroup as a threat to the majority’s status and power (Beaton & Tougas, 1997). When such a backlash effect occurs, there will be an increase in discriminatory behaviour against the minority. Research with women has shown that both their absolute numbers in a work setting and their intrusiveness (i.e., rapidity of influx) are associated with their reports of personal instances of discrimination and higher turnover intentions (Beaton & Tougas, 1997). Thus, it may be wise to increase the proportion of those in a sub-group more gradually over time.

If minorities are to be put into token positions, however, it is necessary that they receive support from the organization. Thus, their superiors must support them and recognize that many of the problems that they are experiencing are not of their own making. They should also be provided with access to support in the form of mentors. The negative consequences associated with being in a token position, moreover, can be alleviated by having someone in authority legitimizing the position of the token or by enhancing the status of the token (through training, allocation of resources, etc.) (Yoder, 2002).

6.2 Negative Stereotypes

One way to reduce negative stereotyping is to increase the proportion of the minority group in the workforce (Kossek, Lobel, & Brown, in press). Another way is by adopting neutral occupational titles, materials, policies, and procedures. For example, the language in recruitment materials is often gender-biased (e.g., crewman, infantryman, manpower) (National Defence Minister’s Advisory Board, 2000). Similarly, in the past recruitment posters only portrayed pictures of White men (National Defence Minister’s Advisory Board, 2000). It is important, therefore, to show diverse individuals doing a wide range of tasks.

To effectively manage diversity, leaders also must take a proactive role in creating a culture which respects and rewards individual differences. This includes being role models of appropriate values. For example, leaders must be conscious of and show appreciation for subordinates' differences and respect the unique skills that each individual can bring to the job. Minorities themselves can help to alleviate stereotypes by developing a wide range of effective leadership and communication styles (Haslett, Geis, & Carter, 1993).

6.3 Prejudice and Discrimination

Both treating sameness differently and ignoring differences when they are salient can form the basis for discrimination (Kimmel, 1999). In order to treat people differently it must be established that real differences exist (not just stereotypes) and that these are related to their qualifications for the job (*bona fide* occupational requirements). However, you also cannot treat individuals as if their personal or background characteristics or role responsibilities (e.g., motherhood) are inconsequential as this results in a non-level playing field.

In the CF, women and aboriginals are more likely to perceive themselves to be victims of discrimination than are White men (Truscott, 1997). To provide minority group members with opportunities and eliminate prejudice and discrimination against them, the CF can implement neutral, inclusive, and non-discriminatory policies and procedures. These would include establishing fair selection procedures. There is the possibility that selection criteria may be biased (i.e., that some of the selection tests that are being used may have adverse impact) as applicants from EE groups are more likely to be rejected (Truscott, 1997).

Another need is for fair and unbiased performance criteria to be consistently applied. Women in combat arms in the CF, for example, report that they are subjected to inconsistent and subjective performance standards (Davis & Thomas, 1998). And, when women do manage to meet the standards that have been set, the level of the standards may be questioned (Davis & Thomas, 1998). There needs to be a review of the manner in which performance evaluations are being carried out. Best practices here include: setting clear, unambiguous criteria; use of behaviourally anchored rating scales; use of multiple raters that include minority representation; and providing time and cognitive resources to eliminate biased judgment.

Furthermore, leaders must make sure that the norms of equal opportunity and inclusiveness are adopted and that prejudiced attitudes and discriminatory behaviour are not tolerated. It is also important for leaders to understand their own biases and stereotypes (which may be operating at an unconscious level).

And finally, the CF can also act to increase the numbers of minorities who are in high-level leadership positions. This serves many functions. It provides examples of effective leaders who are minorities. It makes the behaviour of minority leaders less salient and noticeable and results in the decrease of negative stereotypes. It provides a

critical mass that allows such leaders to work together to bring about changes in the prevailing culture so as to make it more hospitable to those who are different.

To bring this about there is a need for a review of the career progression system. Tanner (1999) suggests that this will help to determine why women are not being promoted to the senior ranks at the same rate as men in some occupational areas. This should be extended to those in other minority groups.

6.4 Organizational Culture

“A successful diversity strategy must address organizational culture change to create a work environment that nurtures teamwork, participation, and cohesiveness – characteristics of a ‘collective’ (versus individualistic) organizational culture” (Dwyer, Richard, & Chadwick, 2001, as cited in Kossek, Lobel, & Brown, in press, p. 66). It is important for leaders in the CF to understand both the predominant military culture and that there is a need for that culture to change (Holden & Tanner, 2001). In today’s military, decision making is more decentralized and there is a more flexible division of labour, less reliance on formal hierarchy, and greater informal communication between the ranks than in the past (Shamir & Ben-Ari, 2000). To be effective in such an environment, leaders will have to reduce their dependence on formal position power and authority and increase their referent and expert power (Shamir & Ben-Ari, 2000). They can no longer depend on their authority or tactical ability alone (Shamir & Ben-Ari, 2000).

The CF should not require minorities to fit in by assimilating to how the majority currently does things. As we have seen, assimilation has not been a successful strategy for those in the outgroup as they often have physical characteristics that distinguish them from ingroup members and that prevent them from being fully accepted (Korabik, 1993). Instead, the CF should require its leaders to promote integration as an acculturation strategy. Cultural integration means that those in both the majority and the minority groups must change, rather than those in the outgroup conforming to the norms of the unchanged majority. It means creating an environment that is hospitable for all. As stated previously, integration is the acculturation strategy that is associated with the most positive outcomes for both ingroup and outgroup members (Berry, 2003; Korabik, 1993). Research has demonstrated that assuring that the needs and values of all subordinates are understood and addressed is related to increased job satisfaction and reduced stress and turnover (Powell, 1993). Promoting cultural integration can also help to avoid a backlash by those in the ingroup who feel threatened by the influx of minorities or feel that those with minority status are receiving special treatment.

To truly adopt an integration ideology, rather than just giving it lip service, military leaders must value the cultural identity of minorities and see them as a resource rather

than a problem (Tanner, 1999). So, for example, rather than viewing women as liabilities to be accommodated to, leaders must challenge the existing military structure to adopt the belief that women (and other minorities) are contributors to the evolution of a new and improved military culture (Yoder, 1983). First of all, this means recognizing those things that people of diverse backgrounds can contribute to effective military leadership. For example, some visible minorities may have foreign language skills or an understanding of foreign cultures that are valuable in overseas settings. To use women as another example, the femininity (or gender-role expressivity) that they acquire as a function of their gender-role socialization is associated with being person-orientated and considerate, having good interpersonal skills, and being able to facilitate group harmony and cohesion (Korabik, 1999). A study of US Army soldiers demonstrated that although masculinity was not related to either horizontal (bonding with peers) or vertical (supportive, caring leadership) cohesion, femininity was positively related to both types of cohesion (Weber, Rosen, & Weissbrod, 2000). This is important because cohesion is believed to enhance military readiness, mission success, and survival on the battlefield. Data from four studies with US military cadets and Air Force officers, moreover, indicate that a person-oriented or consideration leadership style (which is positively associated with femininity) is important for maintaining effective leader-subordinate relations, particularly in non-combat situations (Yukl & Van Fleet, 1982).

Although it is important to recognize that there are many positive attributes associated with femininity, we should not lose sight of the fact that masculinity also has a large number of desirable correlates (Korabik, 1993). Moreover, both men and women have instrumental (i.e., masculine) as well as expressive (i.e., feminine) traits in their personalities (Korabik, 1999). Those individuals with many masculine as well as many feminine characteristics in their personalities have been labeled androgynous (Korabik, 1999).

Research has demonstrated that androgynous individuals (of both sexes) adopt a leadership style that is high in both task-orientation and person-orientation and that this is the leadership style that is most effective (Korabik, 1999). Research done with combat support and service units in the US Army adds to this by showing that the most psychologically well-adjusted soldiers (of both sexes) were androgynous (Rosen, 2000). By contrast, for both men and women, both socially undesirable masculinity (hyper-masculinity) and socially undesirable femininity (hyper-femininity) were related to higher self-reports of psychological symptoms. Androgyny has been associated with enhanced flexibility and adaptability (Korabik, 1999). These are important qualities in a contemporary military that needs troops who can deal with a variety of peoples and cultures, tolerate ambiguity, take initiative, and shift from peacekeeping to warfare and vice versa and which requires emphasis on boundary spanning functions like liaison, negotiation, and conflict management (Rosen, 2000; Shamir & Ben-Ari, 2000).

In regard to the integration of women, a culture that embodies androgynous leadership is likely to be particularly beneficial (Korabik, 1993; Yoder, 2002). Women tokens in the military find themselves in a double bind in that military service is gender conforming for men and not for women. To the extent that women are successful in the military, they cannot be real women. To the extent that they are successful in fulfilling their feminine role, they cannot conform to the military ideal (Kimmel, 1999). One way around this paradox is for women to adopt an androgynous identity (Korabik, 1993). Moreover, the most effective way for women to legitimize their authority is by tempering their task-oriented, dominant, or competitive behaviours with an emphasis on cooperation and person-orientation (Ridgeway, 1992). Kimmel (1999) found that some women West Point cadets did this by strategically asserting their traditional femininity in social situations, but downplaying it in professional situations.

Lately there has been much interest in transformational leadership, as this style has been found to be related to enhanced leadership effectiveness. Research shows, moreover, that transformational leadership behaviors may be particularly effective in the military (Shamir & Ben-Ari, 2000). Transformational leadership is related to androgyny (Korabik, Ayman, & Purc-Stephenson, 2001). There is also some evidence, based on a recent meta-analysis, that it is more typical of women than men (Eagly, Johannesen-Schmidt & van Engen, 2002). However, although there was stronger evidence of female superiority for studies done in Canada than in the US, sex differences were weaker when women leaders were in male-dominated settings (Eagly et al., 2002).

6.5 Ingroup/Outgroup Dynamics

Due to the ingroup/outgroup dynamics that emerge in heterogeneous groups, leaders who must manage a diverse group of subordinates face several leadership challenges. First, some individuals may have grown used to working with similar people and may not wish to interact with those who are different from themselves (Tsui & O'Reilly, 1989). Second, the subordinates may not clearly understand the benefits of working in a heterogeneous group (i.e., increased creativity and better problem solving). Finally, there can be drawbacks associated with diversity, including a greater potential for disharmony and conflict to arise due to divergent viewpoints, which the leader must work to ameliorate.

Thus, leaders in the CF will need to learn how to overcome the negative consequences that result from ingroup/outgroup dynamics. One way that they can do so is by encouraging teamwork. "Military leaders are increasingly called upon to operate in teams marked by a stress on cooperation and wide participation in decision making" (Shamir & Ben-Ari, 2000, p. 52). Although teams can facilitate contact and cooperation between ingroup and outgroup members, there can also be negative repercussions to utilizing a team approach. For example, women in CF combat arms

units have reported that “training techniques which are presented as team builders actually have the effect of dividing or destroying a team that is not comprised of a relatively homogeneous group of males” (Davis & Thomas, 1998, p. 8). Similarly, Vivian (1998) reports that having only men supervisors for mixed-gender work units is not effective as it decreases team cohesiveness and effectiveness. The attitude of commanding officers can play a large part in whether teams operate so as to welcome or exclude minorities. Moreover, having teams that are jointly lead by members of the majority and minority groups can be effective, as long as the majority group member acts so as to legitimize the authority of the minority group member.

The CF can aid those with minority group status by educating their superiors, peers, and subordinates about diversity issues (Haslett, Geis, & Carter, 1993). Diversity training programs and gender awareness initiatives can be used to defuse the expectation among superiors and peers that minorities will act in a stereotyped manner and to aid understanding about the special problems that members of minority groups encounter.

6.6 Stressors and Resulting Negative Outcomes

At present no formal mentoring programmes exist for minorities in the CF (National Defence Minister’s Advisory Board, 2000). There may be a need for such programmes, however, as mentoring has several advantages for minorities. It can provide support, coaching, and feedback (Powell, 1999). Mentors also can buffer the negative effects of both overt and more hidden forms of discrimination. As well, mentors who are from the ingroup can pave the way for their outgroup protegees to be accepted. By contrast, when minorities have a mentor from their own group, the relationship can provide social support and decrease their sense of social isolation. Thus, until the CF can establish such programmes for minorities, members of minority groups should be encouraged to seek out mentors on their own. It should be recognized that the difficulties involved in mentoring include not having enough people from the minority group to act as role models and mentors and the possibility of overburdening the few who do exist (Powell, 1993). There are also many problems associated with cross-gender mentoring, including the perception of favouritism and increased opportunities for fraternization (Powell, 1993).

There is also a need for the CF to put into place and enforce a zero tolerance policy regarding discrimination and harassment. This may mean that overt prejudice is expressed more covertly. However, social psychological research demonstrates that attitude change will often result as a function of trying to make one’s attitudes consistent with one’s behaviour.

In regard to work-life balance, research has shown that leader support in the work unit decreased perceptions of negative work spillover and increased perceptions of adaptation among married US soldiers (Bowen, 1999). Although leader support is important in reducing work-family conflict, formal policies are equally necessary. The CF has lagged behind most private corporations in its willingness to institute “family friendly” practices. It certainly may be more difficult to institute practices such as

flextime, job sharing, and telecommuting for enlisted personnel than for civilians and in some MOCs than in others. Still, it is necessary to move toward an approach that allows individuals more control as long as operational effectiveness is not compromised (Okros, 2002). There is also a need to understand that different individuals will have differing needs and priorities and to address this through the provision of flexible (e.g., cafeteria style) benefits and flexible career paths (Okros, 2002). If it has not already done so, the CF may wish to explore the possibility of collaboration with the Military Family Research Institute at Purdue University in the US (www.mfri.purdue.edu).

In order to reduce unwanted turnover, there is a need to conduct an analysis of why individuals leave the CF by sub-group and MOC categories (Tanner, 1999).

7. Best Practices For Integrating Diversity Into The Military

Integrating greater diversity into the CF is an extremely difficult task. As demonstrated above, an enormously complicated set of intertwined circumstances have come together to create and perpetuate the existing culture where minorities are underrepresented. No one initiative to change this situation will likely succeed in isolation (Mattis, 1994). As Newman (1995, p. 24) contends “it is always necessary to find multiple points of intervention; single interventions will not break the cycle, and may even make the situation worse...” For example, increasing the numbers of those in certain sub-groups will have an impact on organizational culture, but existing cultural norms and values are exceedingly resistant to change. Research shows that often more than five generations of group members need to be replaced before new norms and procedures will be accepted. Unless specific interventions to support and maintain cultural change are implemented, it is likely that many of the minorities who are brought in will leave before new cultural norms and values are solidified. This will only serve to perpetuate negative stereotypes of those in minority groups as being unable to handle these types of jobs, slowing down the progress of change.

Thus, there are no quick or easy solutions and a multi-pronged approach is necessary so that the different elements can reinforce one another. Moreover, organizational change must be viewed as a long-term process that is attained through individual changes in key members of an organization.

Best practices for bringing about culture change in organizations involve developing an understanding of the process whereby cultural change occurs, instilling the motivation to change; supporting the development of new values, attitudes and behaviours as well as the unlearning of old ones; and stabilizing changes once they are made.

7.1 Ensure Top Level Commitment to Change

In order to modify existing conditions, it is necessary to have top-level sponsorship and commitment (Holden & Tanner, 2001; Kossek, Lobel, & Brown, in press). This is because individuals must be led through the change process. Leaders need to propose a clearly articulated vision that motivates their followers because it is tied to a purpose that they wish to attain (Holden & Tanner, 2001). To successfully create an environment that is welcoming to people of all types, those in the upper echelons must have a commitment to change based on a shared vision of a workplace where equal opportunity and diversity are valued. But, this alone is not enough. They must also be perceived to “walk the talk.” Research has shown that when a critical mass of senior leaders actively supported diversity initiatives, it was much easier to bring about increases in diversity (Thomas & Gabarro, 1999, as cited in Kossek et al., in press).

Because those at the top are often too busy to give their full attention to the change management process, it is best if there is a particular individual who is made responsible for managing the change (e.g., an equity officer). This person should report directly to the head of the organization and have his or her full support.

7.2 Measure and Document

It is essential to document the need for change, collecting data to illustrate the extent to which minorities are underrepresented, and to counteract commonly held stereotypes (Totta & Burke, 1995). Before change can be brought about, the aspects of the current organizational culture that act as barriers to the success of minority group members must be identified. To do this it is necessary for the CF, as part of its research agenda, to assess the dominant organizational culture and the perceptions of various sub-groups. Culture scans, SWOT (strengths, weakness, opportunities, and threats) and force field analyses can be helpful here. A large amount of data should be collected including information about: demographic profiles of different work groups; cultural values, attitudes, and norms; power distribution between identity groups; acculturation patterns (assimilation, integration); openness and types of formal and informal social and communication networks; HR policies and practices related to recruiting, promotion, pay, development, work schedules, and physical work environment (Kossek, Lobel, & Brown, in press).

7.3 Ensure Fairness

It is essential that employees view the proposed changes as fair and it should be part of the research agenda of the CF that the extent to which they do so is assessed. Four types of fairness must be taken into consideration. First, the outcomes that will result from the change need to be seen as fair. This can be a problem because increasing the numbers of minorities often means decreasing the numbers of majority group members, something that those in the majority group won't necessarily view as fair. Moreover, White men generally prefer that outcomes be distributed according to a norm of equity (rewards are given in proportion to contributions made), whereas people in more disadvantaged positions prefer that rewards be distributed either on the basis of equality (everyone gets the same thing) or need. It is, therefore, difficult to establish a distribution scheme that will be viewed as fair by everyone. It is important to recognize, however, that fair and equitable treatment is not the same thing as identical treatment (Okros, 2002) and that one should not confuse equality with sameness (Kimmel, 1999).

Second, the processes that will be used to bring about the change need to be seen as fair. Processes are likely to be viewed as fairer when people feel that they have had a voice in determining what they are and they represent a variety of viewpoints. Individuals will also see processes as being fairer if they perceive them as being applied in an accurate, consistent, and bias-free manner. Moreover, procedures will be considered to be fairer when they are seen as being ethical and when there is a mechanism for the appeal of decisions based on them.

Third, the interpersonal interactions involved in bringing about the change must be perceived to be fair in that individuals must feel that they have been treated with dignity and respect. Finally, change will be more likely to be perceived as fair when individuals are given adequate information about it and provided with explanations for why it is necessary.

7.4 Obtain Input and Participation

If long-term systemic change is to occur, everyone in the organization must be involved in creating it. Therefore, another important ingredient is grass roots participation. To achieve this, input should be sought from all organizational members about their stereotypes, needs, perceptions of barriers to the integration of minorities, and proposed remedies (Totta & Burke, 1994). Members should also serve on task forces and be involved in the formulation of a long-term plan, along with short-term goals. This helps to ensure their commitment to the change process. It is advisable to establish a visible Diversity Advisory Committee (Kossek, Lobel, & Brown, in press). The CF already has this structure in place through the DAG, DAAG, DAGPWD, DVMAG, and DWAO committees.

7.5 Communicate With Those At All Levels

Next, it is necessary to provide a rationale for advancing minorities and to communicate this to those at all levels, including, in particular, the members of different affinity groups (Kossek, Lobel, & Brown, in press). Doing so has been found to have a positive effect on attitudes toward diversity initiatives (Kossek et al., in press). Instead of relying on the rhetoric that diversity is the 'right thing to do,' it is better to talk about how diversity initiatives will help individuals to personally be more effective at their jobs or help the CF be more competitive (Kossek et al., in press). Also, individuals will be more favourable toward EE if it is framed as equal opportunity and not reverse discrimination (Kossek et al., in press). This can be done through handbooks, newsletters, and an orientation guide for new members, all of which make it clear that the organization's norms are to respect diversity and that discrimination and harassment will not be tolerated (Totta & Burke, 1994). Frequent, repetitive, simple messages or slogans tend to work well (Wilhelm, 1992).

7.6 Devise and Implement Concrete Action Plans

Once the barriers are understood, specific, concrete action plans aimed at removing the barriers can be formulated. Members working in cooperative groups should be involved in this process. Not only does such grass roots participation aid buy in, but it is these individuals who truly understand what types of approaches will meet with the most success in their specific work environments.

Action plans will meet with less resistance and therefore have a greater likelihood of success to the extent that they are perceived to be fair and they adopt an inclusionary approach. Thus, it is "not acceptable to remove barriers to advancement for women by

erecting barriers to advancement for men" (Totta & Burke, 1994, p. 9), but rather the aim should be to remove barriers and increase opportunities for everyone. Action plans devised to bring about gender equality and employment equity should, therefore, be formulated in this spirit.

The formulation of these action plans should begin with the identification of key goals and objectives (e.g., attract a wider pool of talent, retain a wider pool of talent, effect culture change, etc). Specific initiatives can then be derived from these goals. Indicators of success in meeting the goals can then be formulated, measured, and evaluated. Please see Table 1 for examples of some key objectives and indicators associated with effective diversity initiatives.

Some specific strategies that can be applied at the individual, group, and organizational level are discussed below

7.6.1 Strategies at the Individual Level

At the individual level, the most common initiative is diversity training and organizations should consider it to be a best practice to make such training mandatory (Kossek, Lobel, & Brown, in press). The objectives of training can be to raise cultural awareness or to develop multicultural skills or both. Training topics typically include stereotyping, prejudice, communication styles, and attitudes toward EE (Kossek et al., in press).

Some diversity training techniques are aimed specifically at either altering stereotype content or hampering stereotype formation (Kulik & Bainbridge, in press), whereas others are aimed at altering affective and cognitive attitudes and behaviours (Kossek, Lobel, & Brown, in press). Stereotype content can be changed by contact with or presentation of information about those in the group that is being stereotyped (e.g., by the presentation of counter-stereotypical information). This can be effectively accomplished through formal training programs, informal interactions, seminars, or the provision of reading material (Kulik & Bainbridge, in press). Stereotype formation may be affected by a number of cognitive processing techniques. For example, Kulik and Bainbridge (in press) note that "asking decision makers to engage in a structured free recall task before making performance judgments appears to be a simple, low-cost strategy for reducing the impact of sex stereotyping." Another frequently employed method is to train decision makers to suppress their stereotypes. This can be effective when decision makers are given sufficient time and cognitive resources during the judgment process.

Diversity training programs have been shown to have a positive impact (Lobel, 1999, as cited in Kossek, Lobel, & Brown, in press). For example, service women have reported that gender awareness training improves working relationships in mixed-gender units (Davis, 1998). However, some research indicates that in order for diversity training initiatives to be effective there may be a need to emphasize similarities between people, to diminish

stereotype threats, and to better train the trainers (National Defence Minister's Advisory Board, 2000).

Another common individual level strategy is the establishment of both formal and informal mentoring programs. When majority group members develop affective ties with those from the minority it can increase information and empathy regarding the outgroup, foster social connections, and reduce prejudice (Kossek, Lobel, & Brown, in press).

A third individual level strategy is to use "affinity group celebrations" as a way of bringing about attitude and behaviour change. Here, instead of simply exposing individuals to announcements about different affinity groups and their customs, one group would design celebratory activities for another (e.g., Blacks would design activities to celebrate Asian holidays). This makes individuals outside the affinity group have a greater degree of multi-cultural understanding and they are also less likely to feel that the activity doesn't pertain to them.

7.6.2 Strategies at the Group Level

One common strategy that is often used at the group level is the formation of identity-based networking groups (formal or informal associations of employees in similar affinity groups). These provide opportunities to connect, reduce social isolation, and expand their social networks (Kossek, Lobel, & Brown, in press). The turnover intentions of those in such networking groups have been found to be significantly lower than those not in such groups. However, if such groups are seen as exclusionary or threatening they may produce a "backlash" by White males (Kossek et al., in press).

Another strategy is to encourage more teamwork. Here it may be necessary to provide training for discussing and resolving interpersonal and team process problems (Kossek, Lobel, & Brown, in press).

7.6.3 Strategies at the Organizational Level

One technique that can be useful at the organizational level is to identify key change agents in the CF and assist them in bringing about culture change. They could start by engaging in a visioning exercise for change that starts with identifying what success in a multicultural organization would look like (Kossek, Lobel, & Brown, in press).

In addition to the ESR, a cultural audit of the workplace should be carried out to identify discriminatory practices and ways that current cultural norms may disadvantage minorities. Top leadership should conduct the feedback sessions presenting the results of the survey (Kossek, Lobel, & Brown, in press).

Other examples of organizational level initiatives that are possible are: a computer listing of all new job openings, a succession planning initiative, eldercare and childcare referral services, paid leave days for personal concerns, and opportunities for extended leaves and more flexible work arrangements (Totta & Burke, 1994). Those programmes that accommodate women's non-linear career paths and help alleviate their dual burden as well as those that emphasize performance over face time or seniority are particularly desirable. Importantly, it must be emphasized that career advancement will not be hampered for those who take advantage of increased job flexibility or more leave time.

7.7 Reinforce Behavioural Change

It should be recognized that people resist change even when it is highly desirable for change to occur. It is necessary to think through the change and what it will mean for all parties involved. If a particular change will negatively impact on individuals, they will oppose it. An attempt should be made to try to anticipate these situations and take remedial action such as ensuring that coworkers do not have increased workloads if women take advantage of family friendly policies (e.g., maternity leave). In order to reinforce the likelihood of change, a supportive environment must provide opportunities for learning. Training and coaching should be readily available and they should be viewed as a regular part of jobs, not as something that happens in addition to normal work.

7.8 Accountability

To assure that the focus is not just on increasing numbers by selecting unqualified tokens, superiors must be made accountable for the performance of those that they select or promote. They should also be rewarded for being good role models and mentors and for creating a climate that supports equal opportunity (Totta & Burke, 1994). Wilhelm (1992) claims that to truly change corporate culture, desired behaviours must be recognized and rewarded for up to 10 years.

Finally, true change is unlikely to be sustained over the long term without accountability for monitoring both the manner in which the change has been implemented as well as the outcomes that have resulted from it. Changes in attitudes and behaviours should be tracked over time through cultural audits. The progress of high potential individuals from minority groups also should be monitored to assure that they are given the experience they need to advance. Furthermore, data should regularly be collected regarding the numbers of minorities who are leaving the CF and the reasons why they leave. The results in attaining the goals that have been established should be measured on an ongoing basis and reported on.

8. General Research Agenda

In addition to all of the specific suggestions for research that have already been mentioned throughout this paper, the following addresses the research that is more generally required. Work in the following areas will lay the groundwork for future research on diversity and leadership in the Canadian Forces. First, it is necessary to expand and broaden the range of diversity dimensions that are being examined. For example, future research should examine whether diversity based on different occupational or training experiences (e.g., different MOCs, different service environments) operates in the same way as diversity based on gender or ethnicity. We must design research so as to look at the joint effects of multiple dimensions of diversity. Previous research has shown that in some situations the effects of status characteristics are additive, whereas in other situations they are multiplicative. The sociological literature on multiple jeopardy might provide a foundation for formulating hypotheses on this issue. A related matter is that all visible minorities should not continue to be lumped together in data analyses. Various groups (e.g., Blacks, Asians) are very different from one another. Analyses must take account of their differences in socioeconomic status, education, religion, and sub-culture.

More research needs to explore factors that can affect the potential for stereotyping of minorities to occur (e.g., time pressure, limited information, competing demands, training instructions, type of rating scales). As well, more research needs to be directed at linking organizational sub-cultures to specific outcomes.

There is a need for research that makes use of naturally occurring organizational variables (different MOCs with more or less representation of different groups) as the basis for quasi-experimental research designs. There is also a need for more longitudinal research so as to establish a causal link between diversity initiatives and their effects.

The effects of formal organizational policies and practices should be evaluated (Kulik & Bainbridge, in press). Leck and Saunders (1992, as cited in Kossek, Lobel, & Brown, in press) found that employers who complied with Canada's EE Act by adopting more formalized HR policies and programs hired more women managers.

There is a greater need for diversity training interventions to be based on theory (particularly social psychological theories of stereotyping, attitude change and acculturation). Moreover, studying how the content of the training, the delivery process, and the training group composition impact on the effectiveness of diversity initiatives is important.

Finally, and most importantly, all diversity initiatives that are implemented should be rigorously evaluated using program evaluation techniques. These evaluations should be directed at understanding both program process and program outcomes.

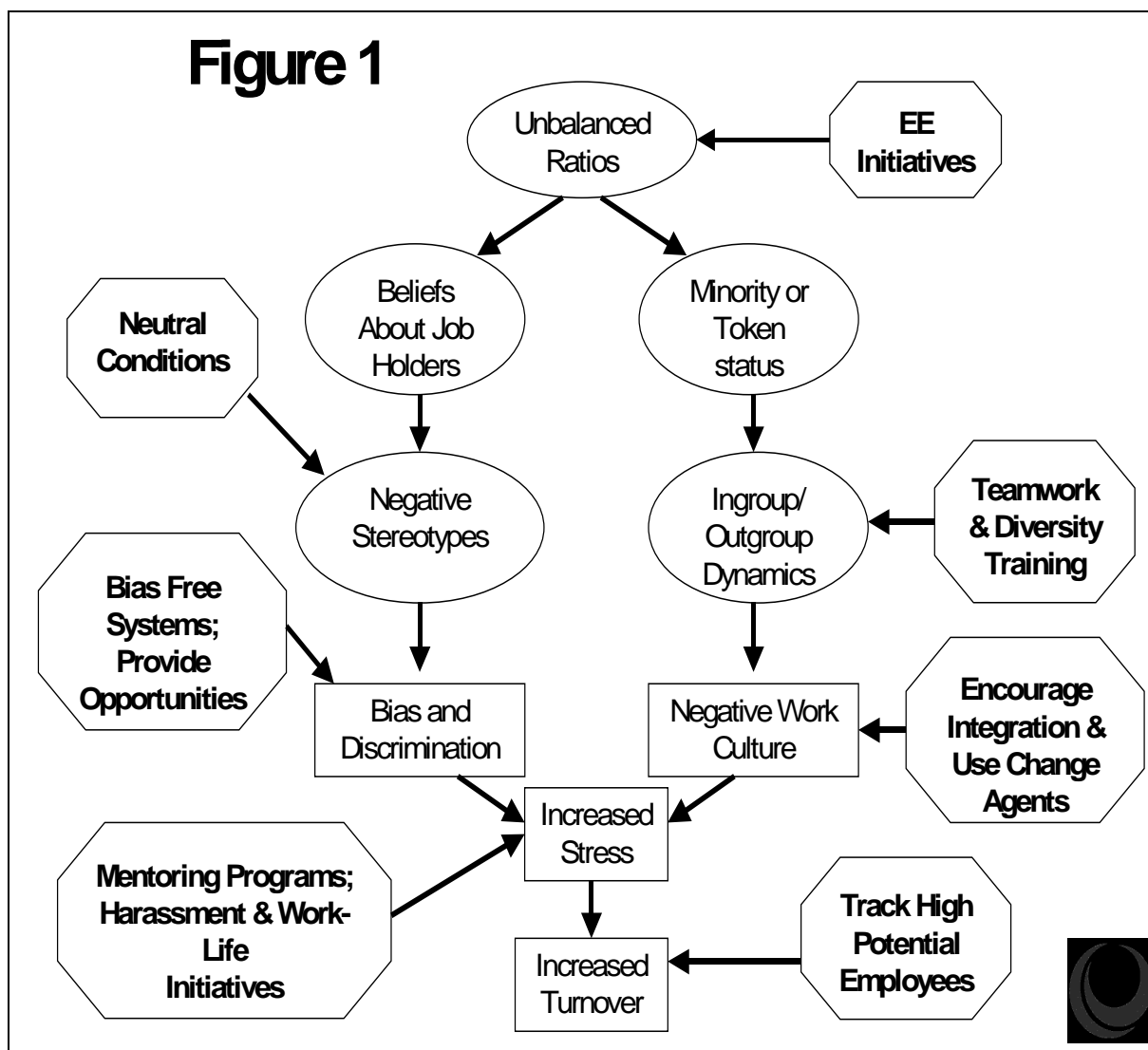


Figure 1. Conceptual Model

Table 1. Objectives and Indicators of Effective Diversity Initiatives

(adapted from Kossek et al., in press)

OBJECTIVE	INITIATIVES	INDICATORS OF ACHIEVEMENT
Attract wider applicant pool	Expand recruiting efforts Offer recruitment incentives	Demographics of candidates Demographics of hires
Retain wider pool of talent	Give minorities developmental opportunities Identify high potential employees	Demographics for turnover Retention rates by level Retention rate of high performers
Effect cultural change	Implement mentoring programs Encourage network/support groups Management accountability Conduct regular attitude surveys	Evaluate mentoring programs Examine social networks Improved employee attitudes about diversity Cultural audit Number/level of leaders involved in diversity initiatives Number of rewards for leaders who effectively Manage diversity
Fair practices	Institute unbiased promotion & compensation systems Neutral job titles Zero tolerance for discrimination & harassment	Number of EE complaints & grievances Monitor rates of advancement & access to training
Increased awareness of issues	Provide diversity training Provide assignments that expose employees to different cultures	Assess changes in stereotypes Assess satisfaction with supervisor, co-workers, & job
Introduce diversity-related policies & practices	Flexible benefits	Number of relevant programs Program utilization rates Satisfaction with programs
Improved team functioning	Provide conflict management training	Improved team problem solving Improved team satisfaction

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(U) This chapter presents a conceptual model and a research agenda regarding leadership and diversity issues as they pertain to the Canadian Forces (CF). First, background information and definitions are provided. Then, the benefits of organizational diversity are reviewed. Following this, the current Canadian employment equity legislation is explained, including how it applies to the CF. Then, statistics pertaining to the degree of diversity in the CF are presented. After this, a conceptual model of diversity dynamics in organizations is presented and used as a framework for a review of the research on diversity issues in leadership. The issues that are discussed include tokenism, jobholder schemas, occupational segregation, prejudice and discrimination, organizational cultures and cultural adaptation, ingroup/outgroup dynamics, and stressors and the negative outcomes that result from them. Examples of the application of the research results to leadership in the CF are provided throughout. Some of the possible interventions that can be utilized to alleviate the problems that arise from these dynamics are then presented. Then, the best strategies for integrating diversity into the military are discussed. Throughout, specific suggestions for a research agenda for leadership and diversity in the CF are proposed, with a more general research agenda being presented at the end.

14. **KEYWORDS, DESCRIPTORS or IDENTIFIERS** (Technically meaningful terms or short phrases that characterize a document and could be helpful in cataloguing the document. They should be selected so that no security classification is required. Identifiers, such as equipment model designation, trade name, military project code name, geographic location may also be included. If possible keywords should be selected from a published thesaurus, e.g. Thesaurus of Engineering and Scientific Terms (TEST) and that thesaurus identified. If it is not possible to select indexing terms which are Unclassified, the classification of each should be indicated as with the title.)

(U) leadership; diversity; diversity in the Canadian Forces; tokenism; occupational segregation; prejudice and discrimination; organizational culture; cultural adaptation; ingroup/outgroup dynamics; diversity interventions

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